

1955-1957 WORKERS VANGUARD, correspondence & documents
Socialist Education League/League for Socialist Action/Young Socialists

**Archival Items listed for information only, on file or at National Archives*

1955

- 1955-05May00 Undated Communication “The CCF and Communism”
- 1955-05May11-2 Letter to Toronto Branch from Kent re NC on suspensions
- 1955-06June26 Minutes of Independent Rosedale CCF Youth forum
- 1955-12Dec8 Letter from Dobbs SWP welcoming formation of S.E.L.
- 1955-12Dec** ***Workers Vanguard* Vol. 1 # 1** For a Labor Administration
- 1955-12Dec George Stanton and Ross Dowson, founding members SEL
- 1955-12Dec Statement of Purpose (Workers' Vanguard editorial)
- 1955-12Dec Freedom of press limited by money, Vanguard appeal
- *1955-Dec For a labor administration – with Dowson & Stanton
- *1955-Dec Toronto municipal election program
- *1955-Dec ***Socialist Educational League organized*** (RD Nat. Sec.)
- 1955-98-1 Undated notes: “History of Canadian socialism, Class One”
- 1955-99-1 Undated notes: “History of Canadian socialism, Class Two”

1956

- 1956-01Jan29 Flyer: SEL Forum on Trade Union Problems; Paddy Stanton
- 1956-01Jan** ***Workers Vanguard*** – SEL analyzes Toronto vote
- 1956-01Jan SEL holds forum on Israel dispute (zionism)
- 1956-02Feb** Vanguard Feb 1956 – Gov't menaces Rail unionists – France
- *1956-Feb Government gives pipeline owners plum (Trans-Canada)(file)

1956-03Mar	<i>Vanguard</i> Mar 1956 – Negro militancy shakes racist South
1956-03Mar	BC CCF convention faces big tasks
1956-04Apr	Organizational problems facing the CCF
1956-04Apr	Hail Sask. CCF – fights McCarthyism, red-baiting
*1956-Apr	Negro leader fined, bus boycott solid (Alabama) (on file)
1956-04Apr	Graphic: European CP leaders framed; not Trotsky?
1956-05May21	Letter from Dowson- financial appeal for <i>La Vérité</i> , France
1956-05May	Highlights of BC CCF prov. convention
1956-05May	Editorial: Withdraw from NATO!
1956-05May	Why did CLC fail to endorse CCF?
1956-05May	BC CCF elects house leader, no discussion of party policy
1956-06June25	Letter from Ross to Comrades re: debate with Stalinists off
1956-06Jun	<i>Vanguard</i> June 1956 – front page – '30 for 40' Auto demand
*1956-Jun	Liberals strangle debate, rout nationally-owned pipeline (file)
1956-07Jul	<i>Vanguard</i> July 1956 – Poznan workers revolt (Poland)
1956-07Jul	Sask.CCF beats boss parties (future medicare protected)
1956-07Jul	Edit – Stop H-Bomb tests – (threat of nuclear radiation)
*1956-Jul	Use of party label (CCF) weighed by unionists (RD)
1956-08Aug	Courts frustrate Sask. (CCF) government's policy
1956-08Aug	Editorial – Defend the (CCF) Regina Manifesto!
1956-08Aug	League & <i>Vanguard</i> tour cross Canada
*1956-Aug	Housing – Toronto's shame – Council takes no action
1956-09Sept	“Super Democrats” lift SEL leaflets (at CCF convention)

*1957-Sept	Where next? (CCF by RD) Socialists remain in (party)
1956-09Sept	Cartoon: 'Suez belongs to Egypt' (article on file)
1956-10Oct	Vanguard – October 1956 – Fund drive sets \$1500 objective
*1956-Oct	Egypt runs own Canal—Imperialists paralyzed (on file)
1956-10Oct	SEL forum, first of fall series (on CCF)
1956-11Nov	Vanguard – Nov. 1956 – Egypt & Hungary
*1956-Nov	No Canadian soldiers for Egyptian 'Korea'
*1956-Nov	(Soviets) try to smash Hungarian workers (revolt)
1956-12Dec	Panel on Middle East war: SEL hosts warm debate
*1956-Dec	Elect a labor Mayor (Toronto) Vote Dowson
*1956-Dec	Program of municipal action for working people
1956-12Dec1	Vote (Ruth) Houle Vote Labor--Board of Education Ward 2

1957

1957-01Jan	<i>Workers Vanguard</i> Over the top (<i>Vanguard</i> fund drive)
*1957-Jan	SEL vote highlights Toronto (Dowson) civic election
*1957-01Jan	Special Supp. Voice of the Hungarian Revolution (on file)
*1957-Jan	CCFer develops his Winnipeg criticism (P. McPherson) (file)
*1957-02Feb	Canadian people have no voice on war or peace (Suez) (file)
*1957-03Mar	Health plan needed (a national hospital plan--
*1957-Mar	Survey reveals need for socialized health services
*1957-Mar	Edit. - With eyes wide open – our pro-CCF masthead
1957-04Apr28	Celebrate May Day with SEL; Basic Marxist Philosophy

1957-04Apr	CCF endorsed by Ont. Labor
1957-04Apr	Negroes combat race terror, threaten march on Washington
*1957-Apr	(CCF) Health plan opposed by big business
*1957-Apr	BC CCF ranks called to develop new militant leaders (file)
1957-05May	World says NO! To H-bomb tests
1957-05May	CCF conventions held in Ontario & BC – ranks' threats
*1957-05May	Medical hierarchy heads up opposition to health plan (file)
1957-06June24	Letter to SEL from R.D. re sending comrade to assist SWP
1957-06June27	“Excerpts from Vancouver Branch Minutes” on press memo
1957-06Jun	Graphic - 'A workers' world – or none!'
*1957-Jun	Stop H Bomb tests – Aid colonial people (SEL)
*1957-Jun	Militant union upsurge in Quebec - Murdochville (on file)
1957-07July	Ottawa supports US opposition to H Bomb test ban
1957-07July	Toronto (SEL) hears Sobell defend witch-hunt victims
*1957-July	Protest vote by-passes CCF, labor politics ?(RD)
1957-08Aug28	Letter to C. Ross: working with Stalinists in Sobell defence
1957-08Aug	Sask & Alta CCF discuss H Bomb & W'peg Declaration
1957-08Aug	Sub drive goes over the top, campaigns in new fields
*1957-Aug	Leon Trotsky -17 years ago assassinated by Stalin -RD
1957-09Sept00a	Flyer: Stanley Park (BC) CCF Club: To all union members
1957-09Sept00b	Eyewitness at Murdochville (Quebec) Steel Strike
1957-09Sept4	Letter from CCF Prov.Secty. Bryden returning SEL dollar
1957-09Sept	<i>Vanguard</i> – Sept. 1957 – Murdochville, Quebec strike

*1957-Sept	Help them win! Steel union combats company terror
*1957-Sept	We went to Murdochville in search of the truth (on file)
*1957-Sept	H-Tests imperil Canadians – Let people decide (on file)
1957-10Oct2	Letter from RD to comrades -SWP Trotsky school nominees
1957-10Oct	<i>Vanguard</i> – Oct. 1957 – (Soviet Russian) Earth satellite
*1957-Oct	Soviet satellite opens new vistas – West in a panic
*1957-Oct	Polish students fight for freedom of speech (RD)
1957-10Oct	Carries on good work, but (<i>Vanguard</i>) needs your help)
*1957-Mid-Oct	Report on life in Soviet Union-Mass Polish youth demo (file)
1957-11Nov	A new foreign policy – Vote Dowson against Tory Nov.4
*1957-Nov	Dowson or Smith (CCF abstains) in NS riding
*1957-Dec	What the SEL really wants; campaigning in Hastings
1957-12Dec	The truth about the SEL's attitude toward the CCF
*1957-Dec	CCF leaders intervene in H-F; Red-bait opponent
*1957-Dec	(CCF leader) Coldwell letter to “Intelligencer”
*1957-Dec	Dowson reply letter to “Intelligencer”
*1957-Dec	Campaign fought effectively by SEL
1957-12Dec	\$1750 <i>Vanguard</i> goal goes well over the top
*1957-Dec	Success of Russian Sputnik throws West into dither (on file)
1957-99a	Flyer: “On the line at Lever’s” Court injunctions limit pickets

May 11, 1955

To the Toronto Branch
Dear Comrades;

~~ORIGINALLY CLASSIFIED BY NND 68-00000~~

The National Committee has taken under advisement your request that the expulsion be lifted from Comrade Ford and that she be re-admitted to the party, and that the expulsion be lifted from Comrade McAlpine and that he be re-admitted to the party.

- ① The national committee is in unanimous agreement that the expulsion be lifted from comrade Ford and that she be re-admitted to the ranks of the party.

- (2) It is obvious from the discussion on the national committee, and as you know from your own discussion, that the case of comrade McAlpine is ~~unmarginal~~
~~max~~ at best a marginal one. It is marginal in the sense that nearly everyone has serious doubts as to his ability to make positive contributions to the development of the party and some, both in the national committee and in the Toronto branch, are quite convinced that the party has more to lose than it has to gain by accepting him ~~into~~ its ranks.

While the formal majority of the national committee has cast ~~their~~^{its} vote for his readmission this majority is so constituted that the political committee feels it adviseable to ask the Toronto branch to reconsider its request and following further discussion that the matter of his readmission be left in the Toronto branch hands.

fraternally

Kent.

From "The Canadian Intelligence Service", May issue, a paper published in Fiesherston, Ontario, by Ron Gostick.

The CCF Party and Communism
Attention

This Service has repeatedly drawn to the consistent Communist-lining of the CCF. Only last month a number of "Trotskyites" were expelled from the Party in Ontario. And now Ross Thatcher, former CCF federal member for Saskatchewan, has resigned for reasons which, when boiled right down, amount to: (1) The growing strength of Communist influence in the party. "Here in Parliament", he said, "with increasing frequency the CCF party has taken a line on foreign affairs that... can only give comfort to Communist nations"; and (2) The realization that the CCF is, beneath all its labels, an out-and-out Marxist socialist party. Mr. Thatcher's action confirms our repeated warnings.

The following statement dated April 29, 1955, is by Mr. Pat Walsh, who, by his own admission, is "a former undercover agent of the RCMP" whose duty it was to infiltrate Communist and left-wing groups.

"I was a foundation member of the Quebec City CCF Club in 1941 and often spoke at CCF meetings (even while in uniform) before going overseas. I have enclosed a CCF circular where my name... figures alongside the then National President of the CCF, Professor, Frank Scott, the writer Rober Lemelin, the present CCL-CIO Regional Director Vallancourt, and the Quebec Province leader of the Trotskyites, Jean-Marie Bedard (now a Provincial organizer of the IWA-CIO (CCL) in Ontario). I was Assistant-Secretary of the Quebec City CCF Club for many years (1941-45) and when I returned from overseas in 1946 I was appointed General-organizer of the CCL for Quebec Province mainly on the strength that I had been a CCF member... The CCF knew that I was a Communist fellow-traveller, and that I was publicly associated with at least a dozen well-known Communist fronts...."

"Of course the CCF knew all along that Trotskyite elements were active within the CCF organization. These elements were welcomed because they were considered 'anti-Stalinists' and in the trade-unions (especially in the IWA-CIO and the UAW-CIO) all of these Trotskyites were publicly known as adherents of the Fourth International and at one CCL-CIO convention (1945) 'Paddy' Stanton roared out 'I believe in only one strike - and that is the strike that started the October Bolshevik revolution of 1917 and which will continue until the last Capitalist bond and debenture is shrieked up on the funeral pyre of the last 'Imperialist warlord' and all the CCFers who attended this convention (The CCF was then being recognized by the CCL/CIO as the 'political arm of the labour movement') knew damn well that Stanton's Bedard, Whalen and other notheads who were yelling for 'bolshevik' action were all members of the Revolutionary Workers' Party - the Canadian section of the Trotskyite Fourth International. These Trotskyites were publishing LABOUR CHALLENGE in Toronto and LA VERITE in Montreal, and more circularizing such well-known 4th International publications as THE MILITANT (USA), the SOCIALIST (UK), and LA QUATRIEME INTERNATIONALE (France)...."

The leadership of the CCF can hardly plead that they "didn't know" they had Reds in their beds.

A regular meeting of the Rosedale Independent CCF Youth Forum was held on Sunday, June 26th, 1955 at 88 Homewood Avenue. Present were Bruce Batten, Jim Loughran, Bunnie Ritchie, Bruce Ritchie, Carmel Mitchell, Harry Paine, Pat Paine, Jerry Houle, Jerry Horowitz, George Bryant and Ruth Houle. Pat Paine was elected as chairman for the meeting. Ruth Houle acted as secretary.

Literature - Jerry Houle announced that he had copies of the CCF's March of Freedom for sale. Also copies of Keracher's pamphlets, Why Unemployment and Producers and Parasites.

Reports on Meeting Place - B. Ritchie announced Greenwood Community centre not available, did not try John Innis Community Centre. Jerry Houle said could get Broadview YMCA for \$2.00 per night but was unable to get accomodation at the Mine Workers' Hall. Moved Jerry H. that the forum meet every other Tuesday night at the Broadview Y. Carried. Group decided firrst meeting to be July 12th.

Report on Contact work in Youth Groups -- Both Bunnie and J. Houle annonned favourable impression of St. Andrew's Club on Jarvis St. as place for contact work. Suggested individuals go down, possibly get free guest membership for 1 month.

New Business - After discussion re holding of social, group decided to go to next social or dance of St. Andrew's club as a group. B. Batten volunteered to find out when this would be and if before the next meeting contact members telling them where and when to go, otherwise to report to meeting.

Educationals - Moved R. Houle that 2 chapters per meeting of March of Freedom be studied. Carried. The next four chapters were assigned - ll and lll to H. Paine and lv and v to B. Ritchie.

Educational - 1st chapter of Marhh of Freedom given by J. Houle. Discussion then adjournment for coffee about 10 PM.

New York, New York
December 8, 1955

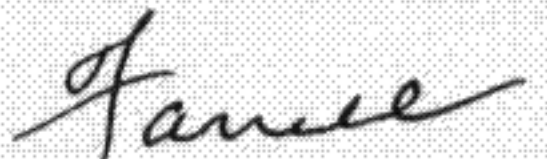
Dear Ross:

We received the first issue of the Workers Vanguard and reported its publication in the Militant. We printed the excellent statement announcing formation of the Socialist Educational League with the thought that it would give all the Militant readers a general picture of the new stage of development in your political work.

We think the paper is well planned and well written and will pack a wallop among the militants of the CCF. It was a pleasant day for us when the first issue arrived symbolizing that you again have this powerful propaganda instrument available for your political work. We would have enjoyed being with you comrades at your headquarters on the great occasion when the first copies arrived there. All the comrades are bound to draw new inspiration from this accomplishment and it cannot help but give them new zest in carrying out their political tasks.

Reba has written separately about making arrangements for distribution of the paper to our branches. As soon as she gets the necessary information and recommendations from you, she will take all the necessary steps to facilitate its distribution among our comrades.

Warmest greetings to all,


Farrell Dobbs

FD:sb

December, 1955

FOR A LABOR ADMINISTRATION

The Workers Vanquard

Top Polls With Dowson Mayor Stanton B. of C.

Vol. 1, No. 1

33

TORONTO—Price 5 cents

THE ELECTION ISSUE

The vast, the overwhelming majority of the population of Toronto are working people. It is they who make the wheels of commerce and industry go round. It is they who raise the youth, the men and women of the future Canada, and who sustain the generation whose energies in previous years laid the foundations of this country's great wealth.

Yet, despite the fact that it is they who have created all wealth, the working people receive only a small portion of it. They are without wealth and without security. Many have cars, TV sets, houses, but they have no security. Since they are entirely dependent on their jobs for income, a serious illness with attendant medical bills, an accident, not to speak of even a short period of unemployment, can have a staggering effect. Any one of these can result in the loss of possessions accumulated over years of effort.

There is another Canada—the Canada of the Fifty Big Shots. It is they who own stocks and bonds, who own the factories and all the products that are produced in them. Through their ownership of the means of production they siphon off the great wealth of this country into their pockets. Organized as a class, through the Liberal, Progressive Conservative and Social Credit parties, they have grabbed and shaped the instruments of government, municipal, provincial and federal, to serve THEIR interests.

Through their control of the state they pass, and have the power to enforce, laws that preserve and extend their interests as a class, against the interests of the working people. Through their control of the national state they determine the role Canada will play in relation to other states. In the last 40 years they have twice thrust the people into world wars that cost the lives of 100,000 Canadian youth and poured millions of dollars into their coffers.

Important sections of the working people, in attempts to defend themselves from the worst excesses of individual capitalists, (their employers), have banded together in unions. Through their unions the workers have improved working conditions and raised living standards. But to meet the employers, organized as a class with the state power to pass laws which can quickly cancel out gains won on the union front, many workers have concluded that it is necessary for their class to enter politics under its own banner. Thus it was that the CCF and other working class parties were formed.

If the working people are to cease being mere pawns in the maneuvers of the capitalists, if they are to determine their own fate, they must enter the field of politics. They must elect into power, representatives of THEIR interests, from their OWN ranks, subject to THEIR control.

In Toronto municipal politics the organized labor movement has elected several to office. Regardless of the criticisms one can make of some of the stands taken by these representatives, it must be recognized that they are only a handful, surrounded by hangers-on of the Liberal and Tory parties, and under terrific pressure. They cannot achieve anything real and lasting because they are a minority.

Up until the candidature of Dowson in 1947, labor had not contested the mayoralty for many years. In 1951 the organized labor movement entered Ford Brand in the Board of Control race and elected him. Since this success, instead of moving out boldly to contest other posts, it has been content to enter this one candidate for executive post and a scattering of candidates for council. One of the reasons for the failure of these candidates to get elected is that, by not putting up a slate of candidates for the majority of the offices, labor has never appeared as a real alternative to the Liberal and Tory machines.

The truth is, that no matter how clever, no matter how honest a labor representative on a Liberal-Tory packed political body may be, the ward-heeling majority who are tied to the interests of the political machine upon which they depend for re-election; vote him down. Their differences within their own circle are as nothing compared to the gap that divides them from the interest of the working people. If they are not successful in demoralizing him, if possible, they try to corrupt him and absorb him into their machine.

The election of a minority labor representation can serve no real purpose but as a stage in the struggle to win a majority.

Labor needs power! Not just "representation," not just "a voice." It needs the majority! For at every turn the interests of the working people, the overwhelming majority, come headlong up against the interest of the tiny capitalist class.

This year with Dowson campaigning for mayor and Stanton stepping into the Board of Control contest, labor is in a position to elect a majority to the Board of Control and city council.

A labor Toronto council would be a terrific stride toward the establishment of a CCF government in Ottawa and a socialist society.

Today with mankind poised on the brink of thermo-nuclear warfare or the devastation of a depression, the ability of the working people of the world to take society out of the hands of their exploiters and into their own hands will determine the fate of humanity. In this election you can participate in the decision—whether we are to go forward to a land of peace, happiness and plenty, or, to disappear in the hell-blast of thermo-nuclear explosions.

FOR BOARD OF CONTROL

FOR MAYOR



GEORGE STANTON

Active in the western Labor and socialist movements since early days when he was an organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World and the One Big Union movement, in recent years Stanton has been president of the Prince Rupert Boilermakers Union (CCL-CIO) and chairman of the Educational Committee of the Toronto District Council of the United Steelworkers (CCL-CIO). He is presently an Iron Workers Union (TLC-AFL) delegate to the Labor Council.



ROSS DOWSON

Dowson became active in the Toronto labor and socialist movement almost 21 years ago when he took part in the unemployed youth movement. A former member of the Acme Screw and Gear local of the United Steelworkers (CCL-CIO), labor journalist, Dowson is secretary-treasurer of the Socialist Educational League. As mayoralty candidate for the Revolutionary Workers Party in 1949 he polled 23,645 votes.

ELECTION PROGRAM

THE WORKERS VAN-GUARD is pleased to turn over considerable space to publication of Ross Dowson's and George (Paddy) Stanton's Toronto civic election program. Both candidates are sponsored by the Socialist Educational League.

1.—Housing For Working People

Eighteen persons have been horribly and criminally burnt to death in fires in the Dundas-Queen-Jarvis-River Street area since 1951. Whenever these tragedies take place the press carries vivid descriptions and shocking photographs of the humanity-packed quarters where the victims lived. Responsibility is placed at the door

of the profit greedy owners of Toronto slums.

Just prior to this election a flurry broke out over the vast slum holdings of one Johanna Nemeth. But instead of being directed towards ridding the city of this foul disgrace the investigation has been diverted into the cheap and vulgar

sensationalism of an anti-vice campaign.

Little or nothing has been done for the real sufferers of the slum areas. Not that the council is lacking in powers to remedy some of the most glaring evils. The Health Department has the power to close premises if they represent a health hazard. Properties considered substandard can be seized; repaired to meet the standards; the landlord forced to meet the costs for such work as a lien on the premises and, \$300 in penalties can be levied. Under the Fire Marshall's Act the Toronto Fire Chiefs have just as sweeping powers.

By not exercising its authority the city government has been a party to this crime against the citizens of Toronto. It is with considerable truth that the administrator of the Nemeth slum empire has said "City Hall is glad I'm running these houses." In the month of October the Welfare Department paid close to \$1,000 rent to Johanna Nemeth for the housing of relief cases.

If elected, Dowson and Stanton pledge that they will enforce to the hilt all those regulations now on the books that work to the elimination of slums. Even more they will strike at the real roots of the problem—the criminal shortage of housing in this city in the

SOCIALIST EDUCATION LEAGUE ORGANIZED

By GEORGE STANTON

Chairman of the Socialist Educational League

The Socialist Educational League has been formed. This is the most important development that has taken place in Canadian labor politics for many years. It can already be said with confidence that the League is destined to play a vital role in the struggle for a socialist Canada.

The League is a product of the crisis that confronts the CCF. Its purpose is to fight against the Liberal-reformist policies that the present leadership are foisting upon the movement and to fight for a socialist CCF.

struggle will determine whether the CCF will disappear into some new coalition of Liberal-reformist politicians, and all its precious capital as an independent movement of the working people be dissipated, or, whether it will serve as its founders hoped—as an in-

The success or failure of this

(Continued on page 3)

(Continued on page 4)



HARRY HUNTER

FORD BRAND

The Workers **Vanquard**

Vol. 1, No. 1

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Dec. 1955

FOR BOARD OF CONTROL



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FOR MAYOR



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#1-Dec. 1955

THE WORKERS' VANGUARD

A monthly paper bringing the truth about labor's struggle for socialism to the working people of Canada.

Published by

THE WORKERS VANGUARD PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

569 YONGE STREET - TORONTO 5, ONTARIO - WA. 3-5174

Editor - JAMES MITCHELL

Subscription: 50 cents for one year subscription (12 issues).

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THE WORKERS VANGUARD.

Set up and printed by Merchants Press, 323 King St. W., Toronto

Statement of Purpose

This is the first issue of **The Workers Vanguard**. **The Vanguard** is different, isn't it? It is published for workers and by workers. In the liberating conflict between labor and capital it has no hesitation in saying where it stands. It stands with labor and for socialism.

The working people need a press of their own. They need a paper that defends their views against the flood of capitalist lies and will serve as an effective instrument in spreading the inspiring message of socialism to the ever-increasing layers of workers who are trying to find their way out of the capitalist jungle.

The Workers' Vanguard is dedicated to telling the truth about labor's struggle for socialism. The spreading of illusions and pious platitudes it leaves to others.

It is commonplace in the labor movement today to hear from **would-be leaders** of the workers, from persons who are in effect **patrons** of the workers, variations of the idea that the workers are not yet ready to hear socialist ideas—that these ideas are of course right in themselves, in principle, in theory—but, you can't tell the workers the truth, they aren't ready yet!

The Workers' Vanguard rejects this whole concept. **We have faith in the working class**. This faith of ours is not based on any idealization of the workers. The workers are under the constant indoctrination of the capitalists. They are permeated with all kinds of illusions about the capitalists and about themselves. And we have no misunderstandings on that score.

But the short history of their struggles in this country has demonstrated to us that the workers do have the power, do have the initiative, the ingenuity, the ability to develop the leadership from their own ranks that will assure the victory of socialism. The socialism we visualize cannot be the product of **patrons** of the workers; it isn't some kind of benevolent dictatorship over the workers. The working people will be in control of the vast productive forces of this country, managing, planning, administering it in the interests of the people and for the benefit of the whole world. In order to establish this kind of society the working class will require all the qualities that we know it has.

For us the task is one of finding ways of overcoming the prejudices against socialism, of interpreting it on the basis of the everyday experiences of the working people, of making known the truth about socialism.

Nothing, no one else, will liberate the workers but the workers themselves. Their greatest instrument in the struggle is the truth. The workers need to know the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, about their own struggles.

The Workers' Vanguard dedicates itself to this task.



Freedom Of Press Limited By Money Vanguard Appeals

#1-Dec. 1955



January, 1956—Vol. 1

The **Workers Vanguard** is an effort to establish freedom of the press. The ideas expressed in this paper are not found elsewhere because of the vested interests who control other papers. Freedom of the press is not quite so simple as it seems. As any kind of freedom in this society it is controlled by the common, ordinary, everyday factor of money.

No one is more aware of this than the bosses. In a speech to the Advertising Federation of America, C. E. Eldrich, Executive Vice-President of Campbell's Soup Company, said that in allowing any paper to carry their advertising business men should ask whether "it is permitting its editorial or its columnists . . . to discredit business and business men."

Advertisers, Eldrich stated, "do not propose to be coerced by any phony arguments about freedom of the press into lending our support, financial or moral, to a force which would, if it could, destroy us."

He noted with amazement that some publications "permit the use in their columns . . . of material clearly inimical to business and business men and even to the economic system of which the advertiser is a part."

This paper refuses to be any part of support for the ideas of bosses such as Mr. Eldrich. The **Workers' Vanguard** is dedicated to the working people whose interests are diametrically opposed to those of Big Business. The **Workers Vanguard** is not only inimical to capitalism but stands four square for its replacement by socialism. We will get no "support, financial or moral" from them, only unbridled opposition. Our freedom to publish is dependant on the support of the people whose interests we serve.

To publish a paper costs money—a great deal of money. Though we do not have the burden of fat editorial salaries and publishers' profits, as our contributions are on a voluntary basis, we still have to pay for engravings, typesetting, presswork, etc.

With this issue we launch an appeal for funds. This appeal is addressed to you. You must give us reserves to allow us freedom to plan the building of our circulation, to allow us freedom to operate. If you enjoyed reading **Workers' Vanguard**, will you do your part?

Send all contributions to Jim Mitchell, Editor, **Workers' Vanguard**, 569 Yonge Street, Toronto, Ont.

CLASS ONE

The earliest beginnings of socialism in Canada were small communities of utopian socialist. One such group was a community of Owenites in Ontario. Unfortunately, there is no information that is readily available on this community or others that have existed. Practically no historical research work has been done in the field of early socialism in Canada. To do this important work would require considerable time and money. These are two things that socialists don't have a great deal of, especially the latter. The universities whose boards of directors are controlled by business or religious interests naturally are not going to provide money for this kind of research. Any individual professor or graduate student who attempts such work is treading on perilous grounds. If he succeeds in getting a publisher he would be in danger of being red-baited and probably losing his job and all future opportunities of getting another job in any Canadian or American university.

However, despite the lack of information there is enough material readily available to enable us to get a quick picture of the early days of socialism in Canada. If no information is available on the early Owenite colony in Ontario, there is some available on the Owenite colony of New Harmony which was located across the border in the state of Indiana.

In 1824 Robert Owen purchased this area of 30,000 acres with its little village of homes, mills and workshops. Four years later, in 1828, Robert Owen officially dissolved the colony. At the time the colony was dissolved it was internally divided into ten hostile groups who would not be reconciled. From the very beginning the colony had been in trouble, shortages of skilled labour, lack of housing, religious disputes, and different cultural backgrounds had shattered the colony. However, these were but the superficial aspects of the fundamental reason which doomed all utopian communities to failure. These utopian communities

were doomed to failure because they violated the laws of economics.

Owen's experience with industry had been with the textile industry, an advanced industry which produced large surpluses of wealth. At New Lanark, in Scotland, he was able to create a model community for working people and still make large profits.

However, at New Harmony, he was dealing not with an advanced industry like the textile industry, but with a primitive type of industry. Agriculture produced no large surpluses to raise the standards of living of the group and to invest in improvements of the community's productive resources. This meant hard work with small returns for the colonists. Their recent unification into one colony was bound to disintegrate. They expected considerable results from their working together in a socialist way which were not economically possible. Their lack of understanding of the economics of capitalism was the great weakness of the utopian socialist which doomed them. They condemned capitalism and attacked it in many ways but they did not understand it. The utopian socialists of New Harmony attempted to superimpose the socialist community onto a backward economic base which would not sustain it.

The 1837 rebellion led by William Lyon McKenzie and Joseph Papineau was a struggle against the domination of the two colonies by England. In the Canadas it took the form of a struggle against the small clique of wealthy people who dominated the two colonies of Upper and Lower Canada. This wealthy minority consisted of church interests and wealthy landowners who, by trying to maintain the status quo, were preventing the development of the young colonies.

MacKenzie's rebellion and Papineau's rebellion failed to achieve their aims, but these aims were achieved soon after when the country was opened up to capitalist development.

After the failure of the 1837 rebellion MacKenzie fled to the United States.

This country had achieved what he was trying to do in Canada by its successful revolution of 1776.

In 1840 MacKenzie made some comments upon American democracy which revealed the deep insight of the man and which equally applied to the Canadian scene. He said:

"The conviction grows daily stronger in my mind that your brethren of this union are rapidly hastening towards a state of society in which the president, senate and house of representatives will fulfill the duties of kings, lords and commons and the power of the community pass from the democracy of numbers into the hands of an aristocracy, not of noble ancestry and ancient lineage, but of monied monopolists, land jobbers and heartless politicians."

At this time in Canada the trade union movement was just beginning to develop. After 1825 the first locals were formed such as the printers' in Toronto and the stonemasons' in Montreal. These locals were small, isolated and included on skilled workers. Their demands were quite moderate and they were very respectful to their employers.

In the early 1830's the printers in Quebec asked for a wage increase. They declared that they had no intention of operating what is called in English "strike" and are strong in their assurances that they only wished to be indebted for their increase "to your good will and to the justice of our demand."

Much of the funds of these early workers' societies was spent helping out unemployed members. Although land was free this had little attraction for the skilled workers who, despite unemployment, were farther ahead working at their trades than at farming.

The British and American trade union movements made their influence felt in Canada. The British labour movement even organized some of the skilled Canadian workers during the 1850's, however this organization did not last.

By 1869 many of the Canadian unions were in contact with their American counterparts. Information was exchanged about the trade, American trade union papers were subscribed to by Canadians. The iron moulders union became affiliated with the American iron moulders' union and thus became the first international

union in Canada.

In 1871 an issue arose which united the whole labour movement from Quebec to the Niagara Peninsula. This was the fight for a nine hour working day. In the same year a nine hour league had been formed among the Hamilton workers. It was immediately supported by the Toronto trades assembly. In Toronto the printers went on strike and demanded a nine hour day. On April 14th a parade was held as a demonstration of labours' solidarity. The parade marched to Queen's Park where ten thousand workers heard speeches in favour of the nine hour working day.

The next day the government acting on the orders of the employers in the printing trades arrested the whole executive of the typographical union. The union executive was charged with seditious conspiracy and thrown into jail. A large protest meeting took place and shortly after this the prosecution of the printers was dropped. The strike finally ended. Important gains were won including the nine hour day. It was during the strike that a labour paper began publication. It was called the Ontario Working Man and it continued publication for three years.

The nine hour leagues were the first large scale political action which was taken by the labour movement.

In 1873 a trade union act was passed by parliament which gave labour the right to organized.. This was the legal confirmation of an already accomplished fact which had been won by the workers through their many struggles with the bosses. The same year the Toronto trades assembly called for the formation of all the labour federations in Canada into one body. This appeal resulted in the formation of the Canadian Labour Union. The main reason for the formation of this national body was the weakness of individual local unions. Individually they could not stand up against the bosses who worked against them as a team. Canadian labour needed a national organization to meet the attacks of the bosses. Other secondary factors helped to create this body. The nine hour movement had shown that Canadian labour could work together in a common cause. This gave them the confidence to go ahead and

work together in a national body.

The constitution of this organization said that the purpose of the CLU was

"To agitate such questions as may be for the benefit of the working classes, in order that we may obtain the enactment of such measures by the dominion and locale legislatures as will be beneficial to us and a repeal of alllopressive laws which now exist."

The Canadian Labour Union attacked the use of child labour in factories, the importation of foreign workers who had to sign contracts agreeing to accept low wages before they could come to Canada. They attacked the agreement between the Ontario government and the Canada Car Company whereby the Ontario government was supplying the company with convict labour.

The year 1873 brought depression to Canada. The labour movement had no way of dealing with this problem and the CLU disintegrated. Simple trade unionism along with reforms demonstrated its bankruptcy in the face of an economic recession.

The CLU had been made up of a federation of local unions. The first of these groups had been the Toronto Council which had been organized in 1871. It had consisted of 15 unions. It was this body which had taken the lead in the formation of the CLU and also in the nine hour movement. But it was also destroyed by the depression. Another similar body was the Ottawa labour council who managed to elect two representatiges of labour in the provincial elections of 1873.

The early trade union movement was dominated by the ideas of "uplift unionism". The idea of uplift unionism was to improve the educational and social life of the workers and thus to give the workers a fuller life. An example of this was the nine hour day which would provide leisure for a fuller life.

The labour movement began to revive in the 1880's. One of the new forces to come out of the revival was the Knights of Labour. The first local assembly was set up in Hamilton in 1881. The K of L rose rapidly to power and influence among Canadian workers. At one time they had 250 locals in Canada. However, they passed

away just as quickly as they came. By 1901 only 24 locals were left.

The knights passed away quickly because their philosophy did not meet the needs of the Canadian and American workers. It was a false philosophy based upon the idea that social change was governed by the psychological factor. They hoped to create a harmonious society with both capitalists and workers living together in happiness. Both capitalists and workers were to govern themselves by a set of religious principles. Both sides were to obey the rules of the game. These religious principles were to be kept always in the minds of both groups. These religious principles were the "psychological factor" which was to govern the conduct of both classes. All the knights had to do was to educate workers and capitalists to work together for a harmonious society. However, the basic idea that social change was governed by the "psychological factor" was wrong. It was the economic factor that caused social change. The changes in the social life around man influenced his thinking and created what is called his outlook upon life or his psychology of life.

The knights made some gains only because important leaders of the movement disobeyed its principles. The knights were against strikes for nothing was more disruptive of harmony than a strike. They favoured changing the social system first before solving the everyday problems of the workers, for such things as shorter hours and higher wages. Once social harmony had been created all these things like better working conditions could be looked after. But as we have seen they didn't even understand the social system or how to go about changing it. The poor philosophy of the knights combined with their failure to fight for the immediate demands of the workers soon destroyed what labour support they had been able to build up. Needless to say, this group had the support of organized religion, particularly the Catholic Church.

In 1886 the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada was formed. It included the Knights of Labour, an organization known as the Industrial Brotherhood and in

1894 the Socialist Party of Canada had joined for a short while.

The main strength of the TLC was in Ontario and Quebec. It gave lip service to independent political action but did nothing about it. The centre of political activity began to shift to the west. In British Columbia there was a strong sentiment in favour of an independent labour party, but in Quebec the K. of L. which was supported by the R.C. Church came out solidly against independent political action.

Some of the better TLC resolutions passed around this time called for the election of the governor-general by popular vote, the abolition of the senate, resolutions protesting subsidization of railways with money and land grants, and others calling for the abolition of property qualifications for office holders.

An organization typical of this period was the Industrial Brotherhood of Joseph T. Marks. It was set up in 1891. Its purpose was to do educational activity and push social reforms. This was a propaganda organization which was affiliated for a short while to the TLC.

Their platform included such things as all money to be issued by the national government, occupancy should be sole title to the possession of land, government loans at low interest rates for farmers, government control of steamship lines, telegraphs, telephones and railroads. Also laws calling for factory safety measures and laws against child and convict labour etc., etc.

Around about this time there were important activities taking place in B.C. The American Labour Union was beginning to send its organizers into B.C. This was a revolutionary union which the AFL had tried to destroy. The ALU had adopted as its program the program of the American Socialist Party. It received the support of Eugene Debs against the AFL leadership. The ALU organizers fought the AFL and the Vancouver TLC endorsed the principle of industrial unionism and stopped paying a per capita tax to the Trades and Labour Congress.

Many bitter strikes were fought in the mining and railway industries for

union recognition. The situation got so bad for the bosses that the federal government stepped in and sent out a royal commission to investigate the situation. One of the members of the commission was MacKenzie King.

The commission reported that the American Labour Union, the Western Federation of Miners and the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees had combined together and that the leaders were engaged in a conspiracy to sweep all the employees of the CPR into the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees and all the coal miners into the Western Federation of Miners, and no doubt with a view to being able to stop all transportation and all mining whenever it might appear expedient in the advancement of the common end.

This was the first revolutionary labour movement in Canada. Shortly after this the movement declined but a strong impression was made on the labour philosophy of B.C.

Another revolutionary union quickly filled the place of the A.L.U. This was the Industrial Workers of the World, the I.W.W. or "wobblies" as they were sometimes called. They came into Canada around 1906. This organization was made up of class-conscious, militant workers.

They carried the great idea of industrial unionism, the idea that was to be finally realized in the formation of the C.I.O.

By 1911 a base had been firmly established in the West. There were about 10,000 Wobblies there, mainly located in B.C. and Alberta.

However an importance in the I.W.W. outlook was to deal them a serious blow. This was their policy of ignoring the central government. The I.W.W. had got a bad impression of political action from the two American socialist parties. One of these was the socialist party of Morris Hillquit and Victor Berger who looked upon socialism as being achieved by getting votes and election members. The I.W.W. through its experiences and bitter bloody battles against the bosses knew better than this. The Socialist Labour Party of Daniel De Leon also had a very legalist

concept of political action which revolved around the ballot box. With these two examples in mind the Wobblies took a rather dim view, not of political action, but what is better known as parliamentarianism which is the use of the ballot box, election campaigns and getting representatives elected. As James Cannon says, "The Wobblies were not non-political they carried on a great deal of agitation and propaganda which was directed against the existing social order. The propaganda and agitation took the form of soap box speeches, newspapers pamphlets and song books. They also had defense campaigns on behalf of imprisoned workers and they fought many a free speech fight."

Another important reason why the I.W.W. did not participate in elections was embodied in the nature of the movement itself. These workers were mainly migratory workers and as such they rarely stayed in one place long enough to fulfill the time qualifications for voting. Where property qualifications were required they certainly couldn't meet them. This last factor didn't of course disqualify the Wobblies from the idea of election candidates to parliament but it made it seem unimportant.

Now this central power both in Canada and the U.S.A. began to move in on the I.W.W. and other socialist organizations. With the coming of the war it was necessary for the government to stamp out all opposition to the war and this is what it proceeded to do.

These government attacks upon radical organizations finally culminated in the order-in-council of September 24, 1918 which declared the I.W.W. and several other political groups unlawful. One to five years imprisonment was the penalty for continuing in membership. It was illegal to possess radical literature and holding meetings was threatened with penalties. *

Another defect of the I.W.W. was its rigidity. It refused to compromise on policy or organization in order to co-operate with other radical groups. It did try to attract other radical groups to itself but the other groups were going to make

all the compromises not the I.W.W. The I.W.W. refused to work with the O.B.U. and also refused to endorse the Third International. It continued its stand against all parliamentary action and pinned its faith on economic industrial unionism featuring the general strike and sabotage to do away with the wage system and bring in a new social order.

Another defect of the I.W.W. was its failure to consolidate its gains into some sort of permanent organization. The I.W.W. would win an important strike and after the strike the whole organization built up during the strike would disappear. Thus there were no permanent gains left behind.

The I.W.W. continues to exist today but it now plays no part in the labour movement.

The next period we are going to look at is the period in which the first socialist and independent labor parties were formed in Canada. You may remember last week that I said the socialist party affiliated to the TLC and had voting representatives in this trade union body for a short period of time. They affiliated in 1894 to the TLC. This is the earliest reference to the socialist party in Canada that I have been able to find so far.

The fact that there was an organized party in 1894 indicates that there must have been socialist activity carried on by individuals and small groupings at a period much earlier than 1894. In his book "Trade Unions in Canada" Logan states that Marxism first came into Canada by way of American channels. He further states that the Marxists were centered in B.C. and Alberta and the cities of Winnipeg and Toronto. These groups were mainly small educational organizations. However, since I don't have any information on these earliest beginnings and there probably isn't any, therefore, the period of the founding of the socialist and independent labor parties will be dated as roughly the period of time between the early 1890's and 1914.

Before we go on to discuss the actual parties we should take a brief survey of the economy of Canada which served as the background for the growth of these parties. Indeed the new changes in the Canadian economy were to make possible the growth of socialist parties on a permanent basis.

By 1891 the population had increased to nearly five million and the CPR had been built. Between 1891 and 1914 the tide of immigration poured into the West. The building of the CPR and the other branch railways opened up this vast area of rich land to settlers. Now you could grow wheat and you had a means of shipping it out to the markets of the east and the rest of the world. With the increasing urbanization of industrial countries like Britain and the U.S. the market for Canadian food stuffs was greatly enlarged. Another factor which encouraged the settlement of the Canadian frontier was the disappearance of the American frontier. The best American lands were now all taken up.

The increase in the population of the prairie provinces gives you some idea of how vast this tide of immigration was. In 1891 the population of Man. was 152,000. In 1911 it had increased to 461,000. Saskatchewan's population increased from 91,000 in 1901 to 492,000 in 1911. Alberta's increased from 73,000 in 1901 to 374,000 in 1911.

People came from all over the world. They came from eastern Canada, over a million Americans came, many came from England and many from other parts of Europe. In 1899 over 1800 homesteads were taken up by the Doukobors.

These events had repercussions on eastern Canada. As we have seen it tended to channel off the rebels and militants from the east, but it had another more important effect. It stimulated the development of industry in the east. The settlement of the west opened up a vast new market for manufactured goods. Canadian industry began to grow rapidly.

The lack of capital which had plagued Canadian industries before disappeared. Foreign capital, the bulk of which came from the U.S. and Britain, poured into the country. But the great bulk of the capital that financed the great industrial expansion consisted of Canadian private and govt. capital. The private capitalists were handsomely rewarded for their investments. The Canadian govt. gave them vast tracts of land, credits and subsidies.

The export trade of Canada increased from 88 million dollars to 741 million dollars. This from 1891 to 1916. In ten years, between 1900 and 1910, the value of iron and steel products tripled, the value of textiles doubled. The manufacture of railway and agricultural equipment began on a large scale.

With all this industrial development the growth of cities was rapid. The composition of the population began to change as the numbers of the workers increased.

Labor organization increased rapidly. The number of unions in Canada double between 1899 and 1903. So fearful was the Catholic church of the growth of unionism and the growing importance of the international unions that in 1912 the Catholics organized their first catholic union among the pulp workers in Quebec.

This is the economic background of the first socialist and independent labor parties. The independent labor parties were parties that were interested in immediate reforms that directly concerned labor. They were not interested in general problems or foreign policy. They did not seriously question the basic economic institutions. There were many of these parties. Each town would have its own party which would spring to life around election time and then disappear or nearly disappear. These parties were used as election machines by the various labor councils. Later on in 1917 many of these local labor parties were pulled together to become the Independent Labor Party of Ontario. The newspaper of Joseph Marks, the Industrial Banner, became the official organ of this party.

The socialist parties were more stable in their organization and tended to steadily increase in strength until the war. They were not narrow in their outlook and organization like the reform labor parties. They had dominion-wide connections and were connected with and influenced by other socialist parties throughout the world.

One of the first of these socialist parties was the Socialist Labour Party which was an offshoot of the American party. This party taught the doctrine of revolutionary socialism. It ran candidates and did educational work. Many of its criticisms were directed against the AFL. The SLPers attacked the lack of militancy, the love of compromise and the corruptness of the AFL leadership. However, the SLP was a hopelessly sectarian party. Members of the SLP could not belong to labor unions. They also repudiated the immediate demands of the labor movement. The result was that they remained a small, isolated group, with little influence among workers.

Another, more important, socialist group was centered around a paper called "The Citizen and Country" which was first published in Toronto in 1896.

This paper was edited by the two Wrigley brothers. These brothers with their paper stimulated the organization of socialist leagues. These socialist leagues, or branches, were located in Ontario, the Territories (Sask., Alta., Man.) and B.C.

In 1901 the Socialist Party of B.C. was formed. This was done by converting the Vancouver league into a provincial executive committee. Ernest Burns was the secretary-treasurer.

The platform of the new party was a collection of reforms, the most revolutionary of which was "the public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts or combines, and ultimately all the means of production, distribution and exchange." ~~Six months~~

Six months after this the various leagues and groups in Ontario held a convention and formed the Ontario Socialist League. The Ontario socialist movement maintained close ties with the B.C. socialist movement. The Ontario section paid for an organizer to organize 8 or 10 new locals in B.C.

The socialists found that B.C. was a more receptive field to socialist ideas and that they got better results there in terms of expended efforts. This was because B.C. was the last of the frontier and also the influence of the American revolutionary socialist unions was great in this area. This is why the organizer who was paid for by the Ontario socialist worked in B.C. rather than in Ontario. This is also the reason why the socialist newspaper "The Citizen and Country" was moved from Toronto to Vancouver. It first appeared in Vancouver in July 1902 as "The Canadian Socialist". In 1903 the paper became "The Western Clarion". In Ontario the socialist league ran municipal, provincial and federal candidates, not with any chance of getting elected, however. The elections were used to publicized socialist ideas. In an election in Hamilton the police raided the meeting and sent the socialist speakers to jail. In West Elgin a Mr. Wiltshire, who was a millionaire publisher, ran as a socialist candidate in this area. In the Toronto area both the SLP and socialist league ran candidates with the socialist league getting nearly three times the vote of the SLP.

In 1902 in B.C. an important series of events took place which were to change the nature of the two provincial socialist parties and form the basis for a Canadian socialist party.

This series of events started with the withdrawal of the Nanaimo local from the B.C. Socialist Party. This local was disgusted with the "gradualism" and "step-at-a-time" program of the B.C. socialists. The Nanaimo group organized the Revolutionary Socialist Party with a Marxist program in place of the Fabian program of the B.C. socialists.

This newly-created party didn't last long because ^{it soon} reunited with the B.C. Socialist Party! However, their going back into the socialist party was a victory for them because the B.C. socialists adopted the revolutionary program of the Nanaimo group. This was the same program which was accepted as a basis for the Socialist Party of Canada when it was formed shortly afterwards in 1904. When the socialist party became a dominion-wide party it managed to create or-

ganizations in five provinces.

The program of the SP of C started off by declaring: "We the socialist party of Canada, in convention assembled, affirm our allegiance to and support of the principles and program of the revolutionary working class." This statement is followed by a Marxist analysis of capitalism. After this analysis three points are then made. The first point calls for "the transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property and the means of wealth production, (natural resources, factories, mills, railways, etc.), into the collective property of the working class." The second point called for the democratic organization and management of industry by workers. The third point calls for "the establishment as speedily as possible of production for use and not for profit."

The newly-organized Socialist Party of Canada began to run candidates in various elections. In Toronto in 1905 they ran James Simpson for Bd. of Education. He was a popular figure and got the trade union vote, also a good section of the church and temperance vote. As soon as he was elected the Socialist Party set up a committee to give him instructions. Before each meeting of the board of education the SP committee met and told Simpson what he was to do and how he was to vote on various issues. Simpson found that he was voting alone on many issues. For instance he was the only member of the board to vote for a wage increase in the salaries of women teachers.

Later on in the 1907 elections the socialist candidate for mayor, Comrade Lyndala, a Finnish comrade, got a good vote. In 1907 there were three locals in Ontario. These were in Berlin, (Kitchener), Hamilton and Toronto. The Toronto Local had four branches divided on the basis of nationalities: English, Finnish, Jewish and Italian.

In B. C. where the SP of C. was much stronger they were able to carry on their electoral activities on a much larger scale. In 1903 Bill Davidson, a leading figure in the Western Federation of Miners, was elected with the help of the SP of B.C. John McKinnis was also elected. Nearly forty years later he was again to be elected as a CCFer. In 1907 in B.C. The S.P of C. ran 21 candidates. This was the best period in the life of the SP of C. Shortly after this the party was to split apart. The seeds of dissension were present in the 1908 Ontario convention.

In the 1908 convention the Finnish delegates took the lead in pressing for a program of immediate demands. These delegates thought that political reform should be undertaken. This would, among other things, lead to an increase in the party membership. Reformists, as they were called, lost by a vote of 18 to 17. However, the issue wasn't settled. Next year, when some reformists were elected to the district executive committee, the other group, the sectarian or radical group, pulled out and formed their own local. Vancouver recognized this new local which gave them all the powers. This meant that several of the locals which the reformists controlled lost their charters.

In 1911 the reformists held their own convention. Thirty-one delegates representing 20 locals were present. The new party formed the Canadian Socialist Federation with its headquarters at Berlin. This party affiliated to the second international. Shortly afterwards this Ontario party affiliated with the Social

Democratic Party of Winnipeg. These two groups formed the Social Democratic Party of Canada. In 1911 in Vancouver, the Island clubs also split from the SP of C. to form a social democratic party. They elected two members to the legislature.

Another group that also broke away from the SP of C. during the years 1910-11 formed itself into the Socialist Party of North America. This group attacked the SP of C. for failing to provide political leadership. The leadership of the SP of C. just followed the way of least resistance. They entered parliamentary elections merely to get votes. The SP of N.A. characterized the SP of C. as opportunistic and reformist despite its ~~party program~~ revolutionary program. *chapel*

Before we go further and see what happened to these two new parties I think we should evaluate the SP of C.

The SP of C when it ran candidates, it was generally as a method of publicizing the ideas of Marxism. This educational or propaganda aspect of the SP of C. dominated the whole party. It was mainly an educational group rather than a political party. If one looks at the files of the Western Clarion one finds most of the articles to be of a theoretical nature. There is little practical dealing with the daily problems of the Canadian working class. However, we must remember that this party was operating in the time of the initial development of Canadian capitalism. This development laid the basis for socialist and communist parties in that it created a Canadian proletariat, but the tremendous and ~~marked~~ prosperity which went along with this development made it impossible for the socialists to make any important inroads into the trade union movement. *difficult* *No transitional demands - few of these & writing had been transformed into mainly economic writing*

The social democratic party expanded rapidly. It experienced its greatest development among the Finnish and Ukrainian people. In 1914 the party had 5,500 members with locals from Quebec to B.C. Its strong areas were in Ontario, (82 locals), Alberta, (45 locals), and B. C., (46 locals). The party's paper was called "Cottons Weekly". It had a circulation of 31,500 in 1913. This party was the party with the greatest popular appeal to the masses. The social Democratic Party became part of the Canadian Labor Party in 1917. This party was a reformist party which won wide-spread support among working people because it dealt with their immediate problems and demands and thus was able to play a part in their daily life. *no* *there*

The SP of N.A. was a doctrinaire Marxist party. Before you could become a member of this party you had to know the three fundamentals of Marxism, (historical materialism, the theory of surplus value, and the class struggle). This party was to have a short but intellectually active career. The SP of N.A. took a stand against the Second International probably because the 2nd international voted for the war credits.

The majority of the party passed a resolution which stated that socialists should be members of trade unions. They lost several members on this issue.

Another issue which caused considerable controversy was the issue of the Russian Revolution. Was the revolution a wild experiment or the historical outcome of capitalist war?

The third big debate was on the question of parliamentarianism and the

question of a definite party policy. The last issue split the party. At this time the orders-in-council of 1918 were issued which banned all socialist parties. The SP of N.A. passed out of existence and was never reformed. Because of the importance of the issues it raised and discussed in its ranks it would be worthwhile to know more about this party. *Tim Buck says: "that the SP. of N.A. emphasized the importance of merging Marxist theory with the daily struggles of the working class."* *16 falsifier of history*

The coming of the world war produced a hostile and critical reaction of the workers towards Canadian participation in the war.

The TLC passed the following resolution: "The war is a standing indictment of the managing of great nations of people by a ruling class whose ideas of government are incapable of dealing with the problems of modern civilization."

The Social Democratic Party called the war an "imperialist war". All the other socialist groups opposed the war. *no action to educate workers transition program*

As the war went on the Labor movement was brought into line by its leadership. German imperialism became the great threat to all freedom loving people. The war had to be won. German imperialism had to be crushed. Nothing was said about Br. imperialism.

The labor statesmen had done an effective job in lining labor up to support the war, but this leadership still had problems for the capitalists not only wanted labor to support and fight the war, they wanted labor to pay for it also. The high cost of living created dissatisfaction among workers. So did the fact that huge profits were being made. Labor was also dissatisfied with the government's manpower policy.

In 1916 the London Trades and Labor Council urged the registration of wealth if manpower was to be registered.

The Ontario Labor Party called for the conscription of wealth if manpower was to be conscripted.

However, these expressions of dissatisfaction never developed and labor continued to go along with the war and to pay for it also.

not a workers and farmers gov't and real program in interests of farmers and workers
In 1919 in Ontario the Independent Labor Party succeeded in electing 11 members to the provincial house. These 11 members joined together with the United Farmers of Ontario to form the government of the province. The Independent Labor Party, one of the better reformist parties, was presented with a unique opportunity to implement labor reforms and by so going to win even greater support from the working people of Ontario.

However, this was not done. The 11 elected members were very inactive in sponsoring labor legislation. They refused to accept direction from the party's executive. A few of them told the ILT to go to hell. This was a serious blow to the ILT and reformism in general. *cleared way for workers Party*

While a farmer-labor government was put in to power in Ontario in 1919, out west a new union movement was rapidly spring up. This was the OBU movement, ~~the~~

the One Big Union Movement. All the strength of this movement was west of Lake Superior. This union was opposed to the profit system. It was a revolutionary union which hoped to bring the employers to their knees by a new type of action. This new method was known as sectional unionism. All the industries in one area were to be organized into one group so that if you had a strike you would shut down all the industries in the whole area. The OBU was anti-political. They placed all their hopes on the sympathetic strike. This was the nature of the new movement. It arose out of the failure of the TLC to meet the post war needs of Labor, particularly western labor.

Labor, which had been held in check during the war, now felt that the post war period was the time to remedy a few of the injustices that they had suffered during the war. One great source of discontent was inflation, another was fear of unemployment. What was going to happen now that soldiers and munition workers were no longer needed? Another source of dissatisfaction was craft unionism which was not meeting the needs of the workers who wanted industrial unions.

The TLC ~~attempt~~ stifled all attempts by the workers to solve these problems. At the TLC convention 8 separate resolutions were presented which dealt with industrial unionism. These resolutions called upon the TLC to reorganize the Canadian labor movement into a modern and scientific by industry instead of by craft. A committee representative of the industry was to draw up a constitution which was to be submitted to the membership. All these resolutions were defeated.

Another resolution calling for the 30 hour week, in order to defeat unemployment was also defeated.

When the western delegates saw that all their resolutions were defeated they decided to organize a caucus. This caucus was to unite all western delegates into a solid block of delegates who were in favor of progressive resolutions. By getting some eastern support they hoped to implement progressive policies. It was decided to hold a caucus meeting of the western delegates at Calgary.

When the B.C. Federation of Labor heard about the caucus meeting at Calgary they promptly changed their convention date and place of meeting so that they would be in Calgary in full force when the left-wing caucus met.

The B.C. Federation held their convention first. They came out for the industrial organization of workers, the 30 hour week and the general strike method to enforce their demands.

After the B.C. convention the left-wing caucus meeting or the western labor conference was held. This was attended by 239 delegates.

They drew up plans for a separate labor organization whose policies and principles were to be completely different from those of the TLC. This was the OBU.

Their conference called for the freeing of political prisoners and the removal of restrictions on working class organizations. They threatened a general strike to implement this and other resolutions. They also called for a 30 hr. week.

The convention went on record as being in full agreement with the principle of proletarian dictatorship. Fraternal greetings were sent to the Russian government and the Spartacus League of Germany. This resolution passed unanimously.

Another resolution called for the withdrawal of troops from Russia. These resolutions dealing with Russia show how the Russian Revolution influenced Canadian workers. The fact that Russian workers had ~~seize~~ seized control of their country and set up a workers' republic inspired the Canadian workers. Mass meeting of workers cheered the Soviet Union and there was a great deal of discussion about how to set up soviets etc. The enthusiasm of the Canadian workers knew no bounds.

At the convention the Alberta Delegates fought for political action. They wanted a labor party but they were defeated by the direct action group who didn't want a labor party but favoured general strikes and other industrial action.

did not realize that both methods could be utilized Russian Revol teaching not learned

The OBU method of the general sympathetic strike in one geographical area was to be tested out sooner than anyone thought. As a matter of fact, the OBU was still in the process of birth when the Winnipeg General Strike took place. However, the progressive wing of the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council who organized the general strike were the same men who were leaders of the Manitoba section of the OBU plus members of the IWW and Socialist Parties.

Winnipeg, the third city in Canada, had a population of 170,000 in 1919. During the strike which was to last 41 days the working ^{class} completed controlled and ran the city. The workers' government consisted of five members of the TLC and three delegates from each union.

The workers had many good reasons for striking. Since ~~1919~~ 1914 the cost of living had gone up 80 per cent, while wages had only increased 18 per cent. The postal workers, streetcar conductors and the metal trades wanted shorter hours (a nine hour day), wage increases and union recognition. The building trades wanted wage increases.

On May 6th the building and metal trades workers appealed to the 12,000 man labor council for support. The council unanimously called for a sympathy strike. The unions affiliated to the council voted on the question. When the votes were counted 8,667 were for the strike and 645 were against the strike.

On Thursday, May 15th 24,000 workers went on strike. The police supported the strike but remained on duty at the request of the strike committee. Also hospital staffs and water works staffs remained on duty. Bread and milk distribution were arranged.

The women's labor league began collecting money at mass meetings. With this money they set up a kitchen which fed women strikers free. They were also supplied with rent money. Between 1200 to 1,500 meals were served daily. The strike committee then set up their own newspaper, "the Western Labor News."

The employers tried to organize the veterans into a strike breaking group but the veterans at a mass meeting endorsed the strike and sent their delegates to join the strike committee.

The Winnipeg workers received greetings from the Seattle Central Labor Council who had had a general strike of their own three months before. Throughout the west railway men walked out in sympathy strikes. On May 20th Amherst, Nova Scotia was closed down by a general strike. The Calgary Trades and Labour Council declared that in the event of any troops being brought into Winnipeg or martial law being proclaimed there wouldn't be a wheel turning between Winnipeg and Vancouver. On the same day 41 unions walked out in Calgary. On June 2nd 42 unions went out in Vancouver and 5,000 metal workers in Victoria also went out on strike. Sympathy strikes also took place in Brandon, Edmonton, Prince Albert, Regina, Saskatoon, Sydney and Toronto.

The government began to move in on the strikers. They started with the federal employees. The postal employees were called to a meeting but they boycotted the meeting. The government presented them with an ultimatum to ~~return~~ return to work by May 26, never again to strike and to sever connections with the TLC, or to lose jobs, pensions and rights to work on any government job. Only 6 went back to work. After this failed, the govt. next tried another move. They amended the immigration act so that Br. immigrants could be deported without even a trial.

The next government action was against the police. They were required to sign a pledge that they would not join any sympathetic strike or affiliate to any labor body. None signed so they were all fired and city began to hire new police. On May 30th 2,000 vets called Premier Norris of Man. to demand an act be passed making collective bargaining compulsory. Meanwhile the city mayor was swearing in hundreds of special constables. On June 6th the mayor banned parades and provincial police poured into the city. On June 16th the strike leaders were arrested in a surprise raid by the mounties. These strike leaders were charged with seditious conspiracy to overthrow the govt. No bail was allowed, nor were any lawyers allowed. No lawyers were needed since the recently amended immigration act allowed the govt. to deport these leaders immediately without trial. The force of five hundred special police and 50 mounties raided the labor halls seizing files records and books. A wide protest movement developed. New Westminster went out on strike. The Calgary Labour Council called for a dominion-wide strike. Under mass pressure the govt. was forced to release the Br. born strike leaders. They were to take no more part in the strike, give no interviews and make no speeches. The five foreign born workers were not granted bail.

On June 21st the veterans' committee called for a massive, silent protest parade. The parade was attacked by the mounties and soldiers on horseback swinging clubs. The parade opened up and let them ride through. The mounties reformed and charged with revolvers drawn, firing as they ripped into the crowd. One worker was murdered, thirty were injured and 100 arrested. Troops, special police patrolled the city. Military law was declared and the strike paper banned by the Dept. of Justice. J. S. Woodsworth was arrested for seditious libel. He published two verses from the book of Isaiah. On June 25th another paper, "The Enlightener" appeared. By this time the strike committee decided to call off the strike although many opposed this decision. One thousand workers refused to join in. Thus the 41 day strike ended.

This strike paralyzed all the key centres in the west. It could not go on forever in the particular form it took. It either had to terminate as a mighty

Woodsworth edited the paper - means the end of the strike. All the other edition had been arrested

it was not in the strike

demonstration against the bosses or to take on new and broader aims.

The govt. charged that this strike was an attempt at revolution. They charged that the leaders were agents of the Kaiser or the Bolsheviks. The Russian Revolution was certainly the source of inspiration but this was no revolution or even an attempt at revolution. However, the strike was a mighty demonstration of the power and ability of the Canadian working class which could not develop further because it lacked a revolutionary program and leadership

Founded 1956

Socialist Educational
League

FORUM

— ON —

TRADE UNION PROBLEMS

TODAY

SUNDAY

January 29 - 8 p.m.

MINEWORKERS HALL

32 Isabella St.
(off Yonge St., South of Bloor)

Speaker — Paddy Stanton

Forum Report -

The SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE has been holding a series of monthly forums on subjects of interest to Socialists. The League is thus carrying out the task of Socialist education so sadly neglected by the CCF.

- The last forum - well attended by about 40 persons - was on the Arab - Israeli conflict. The speaker, James Mitchell, is a left-wing socialist who was recently expelled by the CCF. and is now editor of the WORKERS VANGUARD. The audience, comprising persons of varying opinion, participated in a lively and stimulating discussion.
- The next forum, announced in this leaflet, is on the subject - TRADE UNION PROBLEMS TODAY. We hope to deal with some of the following points - INJUNCTIONS - DECERTIFICATIONS - COMPULSORY ARBITRATION - AUTOMATION -. We think these topics are of vital interest to anyone active or interested in the Trade Union Movement.
- PADDY STANTON, a well known Trade Unionist, active for many years in the Canadian Labor Movement both here and on the West Coast, and a recent Toronto civic election candidate, will lead the discussion.
- Anyone wishing to be informed of the dates and places of future forums can get in touch with the league at the following address -

Socialist Educational League,

569 Yonge St.,

Toronto, Ont.

Phone - WA 3-5174

The Workers Vanguard

UNIONS BATTLE PROFIT HOGS

January, 1956—Vol. 1, No. 2

23

Toronto—price 5 cents

SEL ANALYZES TORONTO VOTE

On Monday, Dec. 5th, 2,374 Toronto workers went to the polls and cast their ballots for Dowson; 3,883 cast their ballots for Stanton. Dowson, as mayoralty candidate and Stanton, as Board of Control candidate, were sponsored by the newly formed Socialist Educational League.

This vote was rolled up in the face of an almost total capitalist press blackout and a treacherous stab in the back by the provincial secretary of the Ontario Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) and Board of Control candidate Ford Brand, against the Dowson-Stanton candidatures.

The election was a sweeping victory for the Tory administration. The only bright spot was the hard-hitting, inspiring, socialist campaign conducted against enormous odds by the Socialist Educational League.



Dowson

Only 29 per cent of the 300,000 who qualify for the franchise despite reactionary property restrictions, cast their ballots. This is a per cent less than last year and the lowest in almost a decade. The boss parties finally jammed through the two-year term, on their seventh attempt in 15 years, with a majority of 14,336. Over 18,000 voters did not cast a ballot on the question.

Ford Brand, endorsed by the CCF and both labor councils, whose opportunism won him the support of the three capitalist dailies and the CCF, in the most conservative sections of the city, headed the Board of Control poll again but his vote dropped almost 15 per cent.

Harry Hunter, candidate of the Labor Progressive Party (Stalinist), again in the campaign for one of the four Board of Control seats, saw his vote cut by more than a third to 9,498 votes.

The biggest single factor in the precipitous decline in the labor vote was the failure of the leadership of the CCF to present a slate of labor candidates or even anything remotely resembling one.

In the nine wards that the city is divided into for the election of councillors, the CCF presented one candidate in two of them and two in another. The other six wards, the most populous in the city, had no CCF councillor candidates. With no one to cast their ballot for on a ward basis and disheartened by the record of Ford Brand, thousands of CCF voters failed to go to the polls.

None of the four who ran campaigned under the party label. But for one exception, they did not present a program that differentiated them from the Tory and Liberal ward heeler. It was Dowson and Stanton who advanced the main planks of the Toronto and District CCF Council's municipal program. Workers desiring to carry over their federal and provincial CCF votes into municipal elections had no way of determining who was a CCF candidate.

The Stalinists, running a broader list than the CCF, also capitulated to the boss-inspired lie that municipal politics are non-partisan, with Hunter going so far as to protest being called an LPP'er.

With the failure of the CCF leadership to fill in the gap, the SEL ran Dowson as labor's candidate for mayor and Stanton as labor's candidate for one of the

two open seats on the Board of Control.

Not at all embarrassed by their failure to meet their political responsibilities to labor, the CCF leadership openly attacked Dowson and Stanton. Crawling before the boss administration, they took it upon themselves to dissociate the CCF and labor as a movement from the Dowson-Stanton candidatures.

On four different occasions Brand did so, once in his capacity as acting mayor before the assembled delegates of the Ontario Federation of Labor convention. While basking in the support of the entire boss press Brand viciously repudiated the support of a workers' paper, The Vanguard. All capitalist papers on the Saturday before the Monday election carried a letter from Ken Bryden, the provincial secretary of the Ontario CCF, repeating many of the lies framed to expel Trotskyists and other socialists last spring from the Ontario section.

But the SEL put up an inspiring campaign against all these odds. Dowson and Stanton dealt with the real issues confronting the electorate and advanced the socialist solution. This campaign was much more effective than those conducted several years ago by the now dissolved Revolutionary Workers Party behind Dowson for mayor. Although then, in 1949, fresh from sweeping the CCF into office in three quarters of the Toronto provincial seats, the workers went on to roll up 23,645 votes for Dowson.



Stanton

About 40,000 copies of the first issue of the Workers Vanguard carrying the candidates' program were distributed door to door in the working-class areas. Limited canvassing was done. Both Dowson and Stanton spoke on two major Toronto radio stations while the returns were coming in and Dowson spoke on an important program over another major station.

Now the Socialist Educational League, armed with the Workers Vanguard, is preparing to capitalize on the excellent work done in the election campaign.

QUE. PADLOCK LAW TO BE CONTESTED

A committee to raise and administer a fund to combat Quebec's Padlock Law has been set up. G. C. Papineau-Couture, G.C., chairman of this TRUST FUND TO CONTEST THE PADLOCK LAW, has announced that the sum of \$10,000 is "needed to finance a test case of this law, to be submitted to the Supreme Court of Canada at its next session starting February, 1956."

Fund trustees include the mayor of Ville St. Pierre who is also a Quebec MLA, prominent Anglican and Presbyterian churchmen, well-known lawyers, artists and others.

"The issue in this case," says Mr. Papineau-Couture "is purely a matter of civil liberties of the utmost importance. At stake, among other things, is the right of citizens not to be arbitrarily expelled from their homes or residences, without trial, without due process of law, without any defence being allowed."



MTC Fare Increase Sparks Sharp Protest

Montreal — Resentment against the Transportation Commission's increase in fares from 3 for 25 cents to 2 for 25 cents, that went into effect on December 3, remains strong and bitter.

High spot in the opposition so far was the united and militant demonstration of students from the Universities of Montreal and McGill on December 8th. Parading down Durocher Street, through the needle trades market, into the financial district, they arrived at city hall 3,000 strong to the cheers of onlookers and showers of confetti from factory and office windows.

The mayor, surrounded by the police, came out onto the steps to greet the students. Promising them action, he urged them to return in greater numbers when the problem had been solved.

But the students were not to be put off with vague promises and they did not disperse. Proceeding down through the business sections they systematically stopped street cars and buses to the chanting of slogans. Their forces, swelled by thousands of workers streaming out of offices and factories, completely immobilized the transportation system of this sprawling metropolis. Police interference was hurried aside by the determined and mighty weight of the crowds. By 10:30 the officials admitted defeat by calling all vehicles able to make their way back into the barns.

Despite scare headlines, charges of vandalism, and the arrests of about 120 participants, the demonstration was surprisingly orderly and disciplined. Only the property of the commission was touched. The staid Montreal Star was compelled to admit that the demonstrators had the support of the populace, "there were shouts of encouragement from the sidewalks. The audience was what you would expect for the hour . . . mostly good solid looking citizens and their wives."

Montreal's labor movement, the TLC-AFL, the CCL-CIO and the Catholic Syndicates, at a joint rally of over 200 delegates, announced a boycott of the transportation sys-

tem to commence the following Friday, December 16th.

The boycott was planned to take the form of all union members driving their cars to work and picking up other workers on their way. The first Friday boycott, met by a full-scale mobilization of the police, and hastily organized, did not reach expectations.

The November issue of Le Social Democrat, organ of Le Parti Social Democratique du Quebec (the new name of the Quebec CCF), called upon all public bodies, labor and community service groups, "to join in protesting vigorously against the proposed fare increases."

It demanded that the Duplessis government turn back some of the enormous taxes raked in from the Montreal district and provide subsidies to the commission both to improve the "notoriously poor" transportation and to maintain old fare rates. Le Social Democrat scored any idea that tramway workers should accept any lower standard of living "to provide cheaper transportation. It pointed out that they are among the lowest paid in the country, still working a 45-hour week and receiving 10 cents an hour less than Toronto transportation workers.

CYPRIOIS STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

By VIRGINIA WILSON

"Enosis," union with Greece, is the cry thundering throughout Cyprus. Once a whisper among the island's Greek population, today it has become a roar. In an inspired nationalist upsurge, bishops, fervent terrorists, communists, even school children are unanimous in their demands.

The Greek Cypriots, who constitute over three-quarters of the island's 500,000 people, have declared their purpose to fight Britain until they achieve union with Greece. This is the significance of "Enosis." It has turned this Mediterranean isle 40 miles off the coast of Turkey into a centre of struggle between a colonial people and their imperialist rul-

ers. After 77 years as a colony in the British Empire, Cyprus demands the right of self-determination, the right to unite with Greece. This Britain refuses to grant.

For centuries this situation has existed. For centuries the Cypriots have been shuffled from one power to another. Persians, Egyptians, Romans, Turks, and now the British are among the many colonial

care plan, wages equal to those already established in Windsor, and an increase over the present 5 cents an hour wage offer. They could have accepted the miserly company offer but they struck for their demands. As the year closed, their picket line, encircling the entire chain of GM plants from Oshawa to London, went into its 100th day.

The strikers and their families are getting along on \$12 per week for married persons with \$3 extra for each dependent, plus \$5 a week for doing picket duty.

Expressing the determination of the GM strikers' UAW director George Burt told the press on the eve of the New Year that "We will examine the highest rates in the industry and then say 'this rich company ought to pay them.' Then when they bring their workers to the highest rates in the industry they should step ahead a little."

Just outside of Toronto, in Leaside, 1,300 workers organized in the United Electrical Workers (independent) are fighting to save their union from a series of assaults directed by the unions of millaire mining tycoon J. Y. Murdoch. They are employees of one of his many interests, Canada Wire and Cable.

Canadian corporations this year grabbed off the highest profits in their history, almost \$1½ billion for the first 9 months, or 29 per cent above 1954. Canada Wire did well too — according to company statements it increased its profits 22 per cent over last year.

This year's contract discussions opened and closed with the company demand that the workers give up their past periods which were to be made up for by a small 4 per cent wage increase. As the year came to an end strikers on the picket line for over 90 days watched as police, enforcing an injunction limiting pickets to four a gate, supervised herding of strikebreakers through the lines.

UAW LEADERS PROTEST With an orgy of red baiting, counting on the isolation of the UE from the mainstream of organized labor, Murdoch hopes to rid himself of unions. But in a significant gesture of solidarity 10 UAW local presidents, including Jack Kane of Frisidaire (GM) and William Rutherford of the Oshawa GM local, have issued an appeal for a united movement to protest to the Tory provincial government against strikebreaking at Leaside through court injunction.

The past year has witnessed, in the 123-day DeHavilland strike, in the GM strike and others across the country, a mounting resistance of the corporations against unions. The courts are preparing to step in with injunctions, the government threatens the railway workers with compulsory arbitration. Only solidarity in deeds, only the united strength of organized labor in action, can meet the days ahead.

(Continued on back page)

Vanguard Subs- Start Coming Response Good

What kind of response is the first issue of the VANGUARD receiving?

H. M. Baker of Kimberley, B.C., writes: "I am interested in your project to present the truth about socialism to the working class, and I am enclosing herewith the sum of \$5.00 to help along the good work. Please include my name on your subscription list."

Harry Nokes from Magna Bay, B.C., one of the pioneer socialists of the West, writes: "I intended to get a certain book, but thought it better to get started on the Vanguard first. The book can wait." Harry enclosed with his sub several gift subscriptions to friends. This is an excellent way to introduce the Vanguard to new readers and thus help in the fight for socialism.

Another important way to build the paper is to show it to your fellow workers, talk about the articles and sell them a sub.

The subscriptions are beginning to come in. Several people who received one of the many thousands of copies of the first issue which was distributed in all the working class areas of Toronto have sent in subs. B.G. of College Street in Toronto, a new subscriber, says in her letter, "Every success in your venture."

If you are near Yonge and Wellesley drop in and give us your sub personally. We would like to meet you and get your opinion as to how you think that we can improve the Workers Vanguard. If you can't get to see us personally, drop us a line.

SEL HOLDS FORUM ON ISRAEL DISPUTE

Toronto, Dec. 20—The Socialist Educational League sponsors a series of public forums of topical political interest. In line with their declared purpose to stimulate serious political thinking by providing "what is so lacking in the constituency organizations" of the CCF, the SEL holds these forums monthly at the Mineworkers' Hall.

Last Sunday's topic was the Arab - Israeli conflict. The speaker for the evening was Jim Mitchell, editor of the VANGUARD. Attendance was good and the audience of approximately 40 people, provided a lengthy and interesting discussion.

Following is a summary of Mr. Mitchell's talk.

★ ★ ★

In recent weeks the Arab-Israeli conflict has been much in the news. Daily skirmishes take place in the Gaza strip between Egyptian and Israeli forces. The capitalist press warns of the danger of full-scale war between the two contending forces.

The sympathy of the capitalist press, in its majority, is for Israel. Here, they say, is a progressive country bringing Western enlightenment, industry and sanitation to a backward country. The picture painted by the Western capitalist powers and the Zionist movement is a touching one. It is a portrait of Little David Israel facing an Arab Goliath. However, this portrait does not accord with reality. Historic right in the Arab-Israeli conflict lies wholly on the side of

the Arabs. They are the aggrieved party.

It is enough to cite the fact that 900,000 Palestinian Arabs, almost one-half of the total population, were driven out of their country by Israeli troops in 1948. These people had a history in Palestine dating back over 1,000 years. It is their homeland. Since 1948 the refugee Arabs have lived in camps on the borders of Israel under conditions verging on starvation.

To be sure, Palestine—the land area covered by the present Israeli state—was the Jewish homeland in Biblical times, but it held only a small Jewish population in 1920 when sizeable Zionist migrations began. After the expulsion of the Arabs the Jews outnumbered them within the country seven-to-one.

The British government—which received a League of Nations mandate over Palestine in 1922—permitted Zionist immigrations in order to check the Arab national independence movement. This movement engulfed the Arab countries from Morocco to Iran and is the hope for economic and political advancement for 60 million Arabs.

The Arab national movement in Palestine acquired great strength during the course of World War I as a movement against Turkish domination. During the course of the war British troops occupied the country. The Arabs then made their demands for self rule on the British government.

DIVIDE AND RULE

The whole next period was one of divide and rule by the imperialist government in London. They

played the role of umpire between the claims of two forces — the Arabs for national independence and the Zionists for a Jewish state. Thus they could appear as a disinterested party trying to solve a difficult problem.

From the first, the Zionists behaved as would-be conquerors over the Arabs. Histadrut, the Zionist labor organization, demanded that Jewish capitalists employ only Jewish labor. Arabs were excluded from membership. Zionist leaders showed no sympathy toward Arab demands for national independence.

By its arrogant behaviour and its character as an agency of imperialism, the Zionist movement has deeply antagonized the Arab masses. This has created the opportunity over the years for Arab feudalists—also props for imperialism in the Middle East—to seek to divert the potential revolutionary sentiment of the Arab masses against feudal oppression into the channels of anti-semitism.

In this way, Zionism has stifled the Arab national movement which depends for success on the mobilization of the Arab workers and peasants against their own ruling class.

The Jewish workers in Palestine, through their organizations must reverse the present identification of their interests with those of the Jewish capitalist class and imperialism. They must identify themselves with the interests of the Arab masses. This is necessary in order to save the Jewish people from further mass murders and advance the struggle against imperialism in the Middle East.

FORUM Problems Confronting the Trade Unions Today

Speakers:

G. Stanton and
J. Mitchell

Sunday, January 29
at 8 p.m.

MINEWORKERS HALL
32 Isabella

(Off Yonge, south of Bloor)

Auspices of
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League

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THE WORKERS' VANGUARD

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Financial Drive To End Feb. 15 \$1000 Objective

WORKERS VANGUARD began publication. There was no money but we went ahead and put out the first two issues in spite of this. We believed that the Canadian workers, recognizing the important role a socialist paper could play in bringing them the truth about their own and other workers' struggles against capitalism, would rally to the support of the paper.

We have not been disappointed. During the Toronto civic elections 37,000 copies of the paper were distributed in working-class neighborhoods and the remaining 3,000 were mailed across Canada. All

this work was done on a voluntary basis by Toronto workers.

In order to put Workers Vanguard on a sound financial basis \$1,000 is needed. Subscriptions only cover mailing costs. The paper must be financed by donations from readers. The first edition alone cost \$400 and each succeeding edition will cost \$150. One thousand dollars is obviously the minimum needed to operate on.

To this date readers have sent in \$345 and have pledged a total of \$835. This means that we have already received 34 per cent of the amount required and 34 per cent of the total needed is pledged. The need for funds will never cease, but we are setting our sights on Feb. 15 for the end of this campaign. The success of the campaign depends upon the donations of you and your friends!

Send all donations to Workers Vanguard, 569 Yonge Street, Toronto, Ont.

GOVT MENACES RAIL UNIONISTS

Witch Hunt Thwarted Kutcher Pension Won

McCarthyism in the U.S. received a setback when James Kutcher, a legless veteran of World War II, learned that the U.S. government has retreated in its attempt to deprive him of his monthly disability pension. Under pressure of public opinion and

public irritation at such a crude act of injustice the Veterans' Administration Central Committee on Waivers and Forfeitures ruled on Jan. 6 that Kutcher had not been "shown beyond a reasonable doubt, to have been guilty" of "knowingly and intentionally (rendering) assistance to an enemy of the United States."

Kutcher was awarded the \$329 a month pension after he lost both legs during combat duty in Italy. The attempt on the part of the Veterans' Administration to deprive him of it is only a further step in the eight-year campaign to break and destroy the man for his socialist beliefs.

In 1947 Truman's Attorney General arbitrarily put the Socialist Workers Party on a subversive blacklist. Despite repeated demands, the SWP was never given a hearing in order to establish its innocence. In 1948 Kutcher lost his job as a file clerk with the Newark Veterans' Administration because of his membership in this revolutionary-socialist party.

The government is intent on making an example of this so-called "subversive." Since Dec. 18, 1952, the Washington bureaucrats have tirelessly sought to evict Kutcher and his aged and ailing parents from a federal low-rental housing project. The elder Kutcher who rents the home refused to throw his son out and therefore could not sign a loyalty oath required by law under the Gwinn Amendment.

The climax of the case was reached on Dec. 15, 1955 with a letter from the Veterans' Administration stating that Kutcher's disability pension had been suspended.

P. H. Moss, Acting Chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Central Committee on Waivers and Forfeitures said in his letter that his action was governed by Public Law No. 144 passed by the 75th Congress which says: "Any person shown by evidence satisfactory to the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to be guilty of mutiny, treason, sabotage or rendering assistance to an enemy of the United States or its allies shall forfeit all accrued or future benefits."

Moss further stated that his evidence showed that Kutcher had been a member of the Socialist Workers Party since 1938, and that this party wishes to alter the form of government by unconstitutional means. By assisting the Socialist Workers Party Kutcher was "giving aid and comfort to the enemy." The letter also said that certain nameless informers had given evidence to the effect that Kutcher made statements which substantiated the charge.

Thus the legless veteran was found a traitor, without trial, without conclusive evidence—for membership in a political party which had never been proven "subversive" by the U.S. government.

One thing the Veterans' Administration forgot to take into account was incensed public opinion. This was given incisive expression in an article which appeared in the NEW YORK POST, Dec. 23, 1955. This article was followed by a series of press comments in the United States and Canada—from the TORONTO STAR to SASKATCHEWAN COMMONWEALTH.

The Post stated that "the inhumane and/or stupid bureaucrats who handed down this verdict do

not speak for America; surely not one American in ten thousand would agree that a man who had lost two legs in his country's service should be denied a disability pension, no matter how unorthodox or inflammatory his ideas may be. Yet that is exactly what has happened in this case..."

"As Kutcher has said, the fact that he lost his legs is not the great point of the debate. The point is that he has lost his rights."

Giving further expression to public sentiment in the case, Senator Estes Kefauver, a democrat from Tennessee, denounced that Kutcher be given a public trial on the accusation of "treason." The Veterans' Administration was forced to give ground. They restored his pension pending a hearing—then granted one for Dec. 30, 1955.

A victory was scored against the witch hunters when the pressure of public opinion forced the government to make the star chamber hearing public. For the first time McCarthyism had to come right out into the open. How it must have enlightened those who witnessed the proceedings!

Peyton H. Moss was chairman of the investigation committee—James L. Rauh, Jr., lawyer for the defense. When asked by Rauh what rules and regulations governed the hearing, Moss retorted that there were no rules. "I'll make them up as I go along."

Moss claimed that no charge of treason had been made against



KUTCHER

Kutcher; that he was charged with rendering assistance to Communist China and North Korea during the Korean hostilities. And how does Moss prove this? Below is an excerpt from the proceedings showing his crude reasoning:

Rauh: Will you specify any acts which he committed to give aid and assistance to these countries?

Moss: I'll just read this over again. (Reads from original letter containing faceless informer allegations of statements supposedly

(Continued on page 2)



FRANCE CONFRONTED BY DEEPENING CRISIS

By DAVID WILLIAMS

The French national elections are over but not the political crises of the French republic. Far from shoring up the unstable political superstructure of French capitalism, the January 2 elections foreshadow a period of new upheavals that will shake France to its foundations. For the instability for French politics is but a reflection of the rottenness and decadence of European capitalism in general and of French capitalism in particular.

With the fall of the Faure government late in 1955, a snap election was called. It was the hope of the capitalist parties that the elections would end the series of cabinet crises that have shaken France since 1945. Instead, the probability of a stable French government appears to be further away than ever.

The coalition of capitalist parties which has governed France along with the support of the Socialist Party for almost 11 years has now split apart. Deputies representing seven parties are split into two almost equal blocs. One bloc is headed by ex-Premier Mendes-Fraunce, the other by ex-Premiers Faure, Pinay and Bidault. In addition, the seats now held by the Communist Party number 152 as compared to 93 in the old assembly. A new incipient fascist group, the Union for the Defence of Shopkeepers and Artisans (UDCA) under the leadership of Pierre Poujade, elected 52 candidates.

The French Communist Party polled approximately 26 per cent of the vote. Percentage-wise, this represents only a negligible drop from 1951. Their vote of nearly 5.5 million in 1956 is actually higher than their 1951 vote. The Socialist Party likewise held its own, polling approximately 15 per cent of the total vote.

The fact that the Communist Party vote has remained stable despite four years of relative prosperity in France has dismayed the capitalist politicians no end. Since 1945 the U.S. government has poured billions of dollars into the pockets of the French capitalist class in an effort to stabilize its rule. But 10 years of reactionary maneuvering by Washington has failed to break the French workers away from their own organiza-

Despite all the aid the French capitalist class has received from the U.S. government, it staggers from one political crisis to another under the hammer blows of nationalist revolutions in its colonial empire. More than one French government has fallen as a direct result of the struggle of its colonial slaves for national independence. The fall of the Faure government can be traced directly to the heroic struggle of the Moroccan and Algerian freedom fighters and their stubborn refusal to accept anything short of the complete independence that is rightfully theirs.

The French imperialist bandits (Continued on page 2)

NO DEFENCE TOP BRASS ADMITS

Here is a bit of unpleasant news to the community-minded people who are giving their leisure time to the civil defence program. It appears that you won't be using your training in the event of "a sneaky attack by some other power."

Canada's Air Vice-Marshal, K. M. Guthrie, president of the Royal Canadian Air Force Association, reveals that "it is not necessary for the enemy to bomb the principal cities in a country to destroy that nation. A few bombs strategically dropped would suffice to wipe out all form of life. Everyone would die from radioactive particles." And to top it all he also says "A war starting today would be over in seven hours."

In view of what Mr. Guthrie says, let us stop to think of the waste of taxpayers' money going into building bombers, fighters, destroyers and planning civil defence, when the horrible truth is that THERE IS NO DEFENCE IN THE EVENT OF AN ATOMIC ATTACK.

One does not have to be imaginative to see that the money could be used for useful purposes. For example, government-financed low-cost rental units such as Regent Park. And what about the lack of hospitals and other facilities that St. Laurent cynically points up as preventing a national health plan?

Prime Minister St. Laurent's threatening statement that "no one, I think, will contemplate the possibility of doing without public transportation in a country like ours," hangs ominously over railway negotiations. The CBRE official journal *Transport* calls it, the "few seconds" he "took... to disfranchise Canadian railway employees."

From coast to coast, in tones of mock sympathy for the poor railway workers, the daily press is propagandizing for legislation that would brand 196,307 Canadian workers, SLAVE LABOR. Laws that would wrench from them their elementary right to strike. Dictatorial laws that once on the books could be used to encompass ever-widening layers of workers and destroy the organized labor movement as we now know it.

The demand of the 145,000 non-operating rail workers for an 18 per cent wage increase and a company paid health and welfare plan remains on the bargaining table where it was placed last November. There has been no offer from the railways.

A 422 per cent increase in operating profit was marked up by the CNR for the first 10 months of last year. Average wage of Canadian non-operating railwaymen stands at \$1.46 per hour compared to the U.S. average of \$1.94%. The only suggestion that the railways have made is that the decision of the conciliation board be final and binding on both parties. Union negotiators turned down what Stan Eighteen, secretary of the CBRE Joint Protective Board, charges would be only "forced arbitration under another name."

While the federal government brandishes dictatorial legislation at the rail workers unions, provincial governments, armed with legislation now on the books, threaten increased intervention in the internal affairs of the union movement.

The B.C. Labor Relations Board has ruled that the new merged unions that the now united CCL and TLC unions have been in the process of setting up, must apply for recertification under the labor laws of that province. In this way the government hopes to knock off some of the weaker union locals. The Social Credit government already has a vicious anti-labor record. Under pressure of the Chamber of Commerce it is threatening to pass "right to work" legislation which is in reality "right to scab" legislation outlawing the closed shop.

The convention of the Industrial Federation of Labor of Alberta (CCL) expressed considerable concern that the Social Credit government's Labor Act might be used to force recertification votes on merged unions.

In Ontario the current decertification moves against the international union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (Canada) set a dangerous precedent. The Ontario Labor Relations Board has ruled that this union, which recently adopted, with much fanfare, a new autonomous constitution and name, does not exist!

Labor Board Chairman Jacob Finkelman declared recently that "if the union maintains its status all bargaining rights (under its former name) go out the window." Two applications for certification have already been thrown out on these grounds.

One of these applications, at Algoma Uranium Mines Ltd. at Blind River, found the representatives of the United Steelworkers of America (CCL-CIO) backing the company and government position.

The position taken by the Steelworkers officials in the current dispute threatens to undermine the unity of thousands of workers in Ontario.

For CCF Governments in
the Provinces and Ottawa

Soviet Congress Hears Stalin Cult Attacked

By ROSS DOWSON

Big developments are taking place in the Soviet Union. The speeches of the government heads to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union reflecting these developments, have launched waves of speculation as to their meaning and probable unfoldment.

The congress heard from the lips of Khrushchev and Mikoyan that: for about 20 years there had been no collective leadership in the Soviet CP, that there had been a cult of an individual as a hero and miracle worker, that Stalin's domination on economic problems of socialism in the USSR was wrong, that shortly after the death of Lenin Soviet jurisprudence went off the path, that the role of certain prominent figures in Soviet history has been done violence to and the history texts must be rewritten.

These attacks on the Stalin cult and on the Stalin regime come from an entirely different source than one would expect. It is the name of Lenin's murdered co-worker, Leon Trotsky, that history has identified with the struggle to restore the regime enjoyed in the early days of the USSR. It was he who explained to the workers what Stalinism was and launched the struggle against it in the USSR and the international labor movement.

But these strictures came from the lips of Stalin's heirs, men who were for long years Stalin's henchmen, who were party to and essential to the implementation of Stalin's crimes. These attacks echoed through the ranks of an assembly of delegates representing the millions of bureaucrats who were and are today the chief beneficiaries of Stalin's crimes. The condemnations of Stalin received the plaudits of representatives of Communist Parties throughout the world. Only yesterday they gave the same enrapt applause to Stalin and took every twist and turn dictated by his policies.

Do these developments mean that the bureaucracy, that wallowed through blood and gore to the political expropriation of the Soviet peoples, is in the process of reforming itself? Perhaps even leading a march to restoration of workers' democracy and the unfettered development of the economy towards socialism?

Not only does such a conclusion have no real evidence to sustain it but it does violence to a correct understanding of the character of the bureaucracy and of Stalin's role—not to speak of other facts of the congress.

Stalin was not the creator of the bureaucracy, rather the bureaucracy created him—he became its

instrument. With his death the bureaucracy had to find a new face. His historic role was to root out all centers of working class opposition standing in the way of the rule of the bureaucracy. This could be done only by a policy of blood and iron.

Today his heirs, in order to rule, must establish their own legitimacy. This need of the new regime, of the new group of leaders jockeying for the position of supreme



BULGANIN

arbitor of the ruling caste is to build a favorable public image of itself. But even more important, the universal hatred of Stalin forces his heirs as a matter of practical power politics to proclaim a "new deal."

Besides seeking to establish their competency as rulers, Stalin's heirs made more direct appeals to the bureaucratic caste. Inner party democracy has been re-established. 20 years of abuses have been ended, so the speeches went.

While he made this appeal Khrushchev also brandished a whip. "The party has become still more monolithic." If anyone has any idea of actually exercising democracy, he implied, let him consider the fate of "The Trotskyites, Bukharinites, bourgeois nationalists and other malignant enemies of the people... all of whom broke their necks."

A considerable portion of the major speeches were addressed to the Soviet peoples. Conditions are going to be better. The bureaucracy took the credit for changes in the international relationship of forces between imperialism and the Soviet bloc which are due to causes deeply lodged in the international class struggle. So also they took

(Continued on page 2)

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NEW NEGRO MILITANCY SHAKES RACIST SOUTH

"A new low in American barbarism" is the way Negro representative Adam Clayton Powell, (Dem.—N.Y.), denounces the prosecution of 100 Negroes in Montgomery, Ala. They have been indicted for the part they played in the 100 per cent boycott of public transportation imposed by the Negro population of that city who number almost 50,000.

Negro ministers, 24 of their number charged with violating the state's anti-boycott law, answered the mass of grand jury indictments with urgent pleas to continue the campaign for more favorable race relations in Montgomery.

The protest has brought support

from Negro leaders throughout the U.S. A group of clergymen in New York have called for a country-wide one-hour work stoppage of all Negroes on March 28.

The boycott came out of a mass meeting, held on Dec. 5th to protest the firing of Mrs. Rosa Parks for refusing to give up her seat in the "whites only" section of a bus. The bus company's total business has gone down 75 per cent. The Negro community has organized its own volunteer transport system. The homes of two boycott leaders have been bombed but still these heroic people are holding firm.

The Eisenhower administration has turned a deaf ear to the demand for federal protection against the racist terror in the South. This

terror instituted by white supremacists was responsible for the murder of 14-year-old Emmet Till. It caused the exclusion of Authurine Lucy from her rightful place in the University of Alabama. These two well publicized cases are but a small part of the strife out of which has grown the new White Citizens' Councils—the modern version of the infamous Ku Klux Klan.

Last month A. Phillip Randolph, a vice-president of the AFL-CIO, and president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters demanded that federal troops be sent "to liberate the Negro in the South." As Michael J. Quill, Transport Workers Union president said "If federal troops can be used against labor during strikes, they can certainly be used to implement decisions of the Supreme Court."

Many of the Negro leaders are looking to Adlai Stevenson, contender for the Democratic nomination for president, hoping that if he is elected, there will be a change in the policy in the White House. But under questioning, on Feb. 7th in Fresno, Calif., Stevenson revealed his true character when he expressed fear of upsetting "traditions and habits older than the republic." He admitted that, if elected president, he would not use federal troops to enforce the Constitution in the South. What worried him, was that it was action of this type that "brought on the Civil War."

Abraham Lincoln, of whom Stevenson has long been a self-professed admirer, did not deplore the Civil War. He entered it fearlessly and confidently. In the course of it he proceeded to upset the "habits and traditions" of the South—those of Negro slavery—that were "older than the republic itself."

Plans are underway to launch the long-heralded Civil Rights Mobilization in Washington, D.C. In Grand Rapids a conference on Jan. 20-22 of Michigan locals of the UAW called for mass labor participation in the mobilization. It will be sponsored by the AFL-CIO, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and 48 other national organizations.

The date has finally been set. On March 4-6th 2,000 delegates will convene in Washington to press congress for an effective federal Fair Employment Practices Act, anti-lynch and anti-poll-tax legislation, a ban on federal funds to Jim Crow institutions and provisions to eliminate congressional filibusters.

The Militant, an American socialist newspaper, contends that the impressive number of important organizations supporting the lobby is only a reflection of the fact that the movement of the white supremacists to preserve Jim Crow, threatens to precipitate one of the "irrepressible conflicts of our time."

They feel that routine, limited lobbying will not contribute in any substantial way to the resolution of this conflict. Pointing to the fact that not a single piece of civil rights legislation has been passed for over 80 years, they call for a giant rally to weld the Negro and white workers in the fight against the common enemy—finally putting an end to racist policies in the South.

This could serve as a kick-off for a major union organizing drive. The unionizing of the South would be a mortal blow to the whole Jim Crow system which is basically a means for maintaining a low wage, open shop territory for the bosses.

What's Behind Opposition to GM Strike Settlement

Over 13 per cent of the half of the 10,000 GM Oshawa workers who turned up to cast their ballot on the recent strike settlement.

A closer look at the settlement, Leaside, 11 per cent voted no. Why did such a considerable number of workers vote against accepting the General Motors offer and ending the 143-day strike? From all sides the new contract has been hailed as a great gain for organized labor.

Yet the tough negotiators for this billion-dollar, profit-bloated corporation and Ontario's Tory minister of labor met the settlement with unceasing satisfaction. A closer look at the settlement reveals the source of the company and the anti-labor government satisfaction.

The final settlement is better but it is not a great deal better than the last pre-strike offer.

Actually the strike was a wearing and costly one with little militancy and demonstration of labor solidarity. GM imported cars and trucks for its Canadian market from American UAW organized GM plants during the strike. Only a few miles from the Frigidare picket line the Canada Wire picket line was smashed by court injunction and police scab-herding.

This was a negotiator's strike—it was handled from on top. Union ranks were scarcely involved in it, even informed of its progress. It was argued out in hotel rooms with UAW national and international representatives successfully pushing into the background the anti-labor administration of the massive Oshawa local.

G.M. was not worried about holding onto what it finally conceded. It wanted to force the workers out on a prolonged strike, a costly strike which it hoped many would consider not worth while in the light of the final settlement. This was the strategy when Ford took on the UAW in a lengthy strike last year and when de Havilland did a repeat performance.

Big Business policy makers do not even hope to smash powerful unions like the UAW at this time. They are attempting to intervene in their internal life. They hope to consolidate conservative forces in them with a view to housebreaking them. They hope to make the strike weapon appear ineffectual in the eyes of all Canadian labor. The strike policy of the present leadership, including their signing of a contract that cannot be opened until August, 1958, plays into the company's hands.

The test of reality has been a bitter pill. With such a debased approach, lacking any political inspiration, the plans floundered. The democratization and decline of membership continues. Political life and activity is at its lowest ebb in party history.

Administration has been centralized in the Provincial Office for bureaucratic purposes—control of membership, control of all funds, publications and literature—and most vital, authoritative control over who may be nominated for public office. This has resulted in cumbersome, expensive procedures and further stultification of the membership.

The public spokesmen of the B.C. Legislature have taken the position of "sitting duck." Without

BC CCF CONVENTION FACES BIG TASKS

By GLEN KIRKWELL

The CCF in British Columbia faces a turning point at its convention in April. The accumulation of political and organizational debris has now reached insurmountable proportions. The party must choose between allowing the CCF to

be bewildered for the future or for the future to be decided by the party's leadership.

On each occasion the attack has been on the organizational plane and the resulting debates have barely escaped the confines of this alley. Consequently the policy preferences underlying the

program clearly posed or obscured, the question of the party's future, the question of the party's future, the question of the party's future.

Onwards to the future, the question of the party's future, the question of the party's future, the question of the party's future.

At the provincial council meeting where this monstrosity was introduced a bitter fight was led by Dorothy Steeves, Colin Cameron, M.P. and E. E. Winch, M.L.A., against its fantastic conclusions and provisions. Their observations were echoed by Dave Stupich, an executive member, Leo Nimick, M.L.A., and many other delegates.

E. E. Winch called attention to that section of the "program" threatening and prescribing those "holding and publishing a philosophy and program alien to the CCF." He said this was aimed at those holding and engaged in inculcating Marxist principles. He said that he "was a Marxist, but I am not a Marxist."

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BC CCF CONVENTION FACES BIG TASKS

By GLEN KIRKWELL

The CCF in British Columbia faces a turning point at its coming convention in April. The accumulation of political and organizational debris has now reached insurmountable proportions and the membership must choose between allowing the CCF to wither and die in futile bewilderment or strike out anew for the goal held high in the formative years of the party. A glance at the balance sheet indicates the size of the problem confronting the members.

One of the former CCF M.P.'s observed at a convention a few years ago that "The brains of the members are being beaten out by pieces of paper." Events have borne out this statement.

Each succeeding convention has seen greater reams of paper containing reports thrust into the hands of delegates after they reached the conference. Each convention of the past few years has been highlighted by vicious attacks against groups or individual members. The Socialist Fellowship group, Colin Cameron, M.P., Rodney Young, ex-M.P., and last year's persecution of a group of members in the Vancouver area are cases in point.

On each occasion the attack has been on the organizational plane and the resulting debates have rarely escaped the confines of this blind alley. Consequently the political differences underlying the attack are seldom clearly posed or discussed. Basically, the question for the members is—Onwards to socialism and more positive identification as the party of the working class or backward to oblivion as the withered arm of outworn middle class liberalism.

A climax was reached in December 1954 when the provincial leadership foisted the Program for Action on the B.C. section. This "program" was, politically, a brazen declaration for unprincipled opportunism and suppression of socialist thought and propaganda; organizationally, it envisaged vast activity and extension coupled with a financial campaign similar to a tax collector's dream of paradise.

At the provincial council meeting where this monstrosity was introduced a bitter fight was led by Dorothy Steeves, Colin Cameron, M.P. and E. E. Winch, M.L.A., against its fantastic conclusions and provisions. Their observations were echoed by Dave Stupich, an executive member, Leo Nimsick, M.L.A., and many other delegates.

E. E. Winch called attention to that section of the "program" threatening and prescribing those "holding and publicizing a philosophy and program alien to the CCF." He said this was aimed at those holding and engaged in inculcating Marxist principles. He declared that he "was a Marxist, would continue to be a Marxist and would never miss an opportunity to expound Marxist principles and theory—and what are you going to do about it?"

Nimsick demonstrated with examples that the membership in the past had resisted and thwarted efforts to channel all funds collected into the provincial office.

Despite all objections it was rammed through the Provincial Council with the eulogistic praise

of right wing spokesmen. The convention a few months later in 1955 was not afforded the opportunity of discussing the "program for action" in detail. The convention was allowed the dubious privilege of endorsing or rejecting it in toto.

The test of reality has been a bitter pill. With such a debased approach, lacking any political inspiration, the plans floundered. The democratization and decline of membership continues. Political life and activity is at its lowest ebb in party history.

Administration has been centralized in the Provincial Office for bureaucratic purposes—control of membership, control of all funds, publications and literature—and most vital, authoritative control over who may be nominated for public office. This has resulted in cumbersome, expensive procedures and further stultification of the membership.

The public spokesmen of the party in the B.C. Legislature have been reduced to the position of most pitiful "tail ending." Without a concept as to their role and function

(Continued on page 4)

BC CCF FACES - - -

(Continued from page 1)

tion as socialist spokesmen, the CCF members at the current sitting of the legislature have supinely endorsed the Sacred speech from the throne and have indicated that they will support the government budget—or rather, that they are afraid to vote against it. Occasionally one of them may slip into a violent statement about some scandalous act of the Government or its supporters but, lacking a clear perspective, they immediately

sink back into the realm of disoriented futility. None can escape the effects of the main political line of the party which is opportunistically aimed at middle class respectability and conformity.

The foregoing thumbnail sketch indicates the gravity of the illness in the B.C. CCF. Is it incurable? Certainly not! The preconditions are developing which could favor solid recuperation and growth. For a start, the Sacred government is literally drunk with the glamor and spoils of office and sheer dema-

gogy can no longer obscure effectively their anti-social attitude. The farmers' need for protection from rapacious exploitation by processors and suppliers is being studiously neglected. The workers are plagued with taxes and rent gouging. They are harassed by an employer slanted Labor Act, living costs are higher because of a monopoly control of power, light and transportation.

Amidst these rising pressures the organized workers and the farmers will be impelled to act politically.

However, the development of these favorable conditions will not be an automatic guarantee of the successful recovery of the CCF. There is the further requirement that the membership demand and formulate a powerful socialist program which comes to grips with problems of immediate and paramount interest to workers and farmers. Tax relief, rents, housing, transportation, hospitals, market facilities, working conditions, and

what the CCF will do about them, must be positively stated.

The process of successfully hammering out a program of socialist answers to these problems will eliminate many of the opportunist elements which have clung to the CCF. Organizational problems at present plaguing the movement will tend to resolve themselves in the atmosphere of comradely co-operation which will arise in the new-fired zeal and enthusiasm for a fighting program and attainable goals.

The needs and aspirations of the workers and farmers are discernible. The socialist workers of the B.C. CCF can crystallize these in a program which will rally and inspire tremendous social forces in a sweep towards office and power on the road to socialism.

#5 - Apr. 1956

Some Comments On . . .

ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS FACING

By BRUCE FERGUSON

The national treasurer of the CCF, George Bothwell, writing in the Saskatchewan Commonwealth, raises an interesting question. "Why is it that only 25 per cent of former members are now members?" He notes that "It is not because the majority of these people have forsaken the CCF."

A circular to activists in the Ontario section, which is in the midst of its annual membership campaign, poses the same question. It points out that "thousands and thousands . . . who have voted for the CCF for years" have never joined the party. It makes the astonishing observation that "a lot of them will be able to tell YOU (the canvasser) something about Socialism." The circular provides answers to meet the reasons which are often given to canvassers by people for not joining.

What is neglected in the leaflet and in Bothwell's article, is a serious attempt to analyze the reasons behind the apathy and lack of participation of CCF supporters in the activities of our party.

One of the most important factors in making the movement attractive is that it appear as a vital center of activity in the community. My experience in the Toronto area is that CCF clubs do not exist in any real public sense. None of the clubs have permanent headquarters. Meetings are generally held very irregularly and are not advertised. This is general across the country with a few exceptions, notably among left-wing clubs in the West.

An important failing of local and

regional organizations is the lack of public meetings on important issues which confront the Canadian people. Meetings held to mobilize opinion or concrete action on behalf of the struggles of the workers and farmers of this country would be an inspiration to many of the inactive supporters of the movement.

A case in point is the recent issue of German rearmament, which the Gallop Poll showed the majority of people in all sections of the country opposed.

In spite of the fact that the CCF national convention had gone on record opposing German rearmament, little was done to publicize the party's position.

Mass meetings held by clubs, and particularly area organizations, combined with petitions and demonstrations, could have brought tremendous popular pressure to bear upon the government. It would have shown the Canadian workers that the party was a real fighting force on their behalf.

The contrary was the case. Discussion of the issue even in the party's ranks was so stifled by the right wing leadership, that the opinion of the CCF membership itself was given no outlet. So aloof was the CCF parliamentary caucus from public and even party pressure, that Coldwell and four other right wing MP's felt free to contemptuously ignore the party's position, and actually vote for the rearmament of the reactionary rulers of Germany.

It is this failure to play a living and active role in the struggles of the Canadian workers that is largely responsible for the lack of

enthusiasm among members and supporters of the CCF.

The party's aloofness from the trade union field is an important factor in the lack of rank and file participation in the political action committees. Although most of the unions involved in recent strikes were led by CCFers, the party did not intervene actively in support of the strikes. CCF clubs in the areas concerned (such as Oshawa) should have held meetings to publicize the unions' position and raise money for strikers. Such demonstrations would not only have greatly aided the strike but would have vastly increased the prestige of the party among the unionists.

The functions of the PACs are at present limited to financial support and the mechanical aspects of election work. The CCF trade union leadership, in voting union funds to the CCF but failing to carry on socialist educational work in the PACs, has alienated many workers from the CCF.

Very little contact work is done by the clubs. Membership drives concentrate on re-signing of former members, many of whom are just paper members with no perspective of making an active contribution to the movement.

What is needed is fresh new members. The trade union field can provide many new recruits if unionists can be made to feel that they can play an active role in the political activities of the movement, and not just contribute money and distribute leaflets at election time.

To gain and hold new members

the clubs must revitalize and expand the scope of their activities. The club memberships usually do not participate in electoral work except for door-to-door distributions, mailings, operating committee rooms, etc. Canvassing, to talk to voters, and to search out new members, is not done in most Toronto ridings. In some ridings, candidates are sent in by the provincial office, rather than chosen by the clubs themselves. The challenging of opponents to debates, street corner meetings, the drafting of the candidate's leaflet by club members, would involve new members in the more interesting political aspects of an election campaign.

Club meetings in most constituencies are devoid of any political discussion. Pre-convention discussion and debate on issues facing the party are often pushed off the club floor. Differences regarding the implementation of party policy are played down rather than discussed in an open and democratic manner. A situation whereby all the thinking is being done by the leadership is certainly not con-

ducive to the stimulation of rank and file enthusiasm for the movement.

CCF constituency clubs are failing to be the centers of socialist education that will create a real cadre for the movement. The workers who come to the movement in these times of general apathy are looking for answers to the pressing problems, the threat of H-bomb war, unemployment, general insecurity bred by the capitalist system. To omit socialist education and concentrate on vague reforms to hold fair-weather friends, results in a failure to develop a real theoretically convinced socialist core which will stick by the party in good times and bad.

This whole problem of organizational decline and growing apathy towards the CCF cannot be satisfactorily explained by reference to general objective conditions—relative good times. It is closely bound up with the rightward drift of the party leadership over the last number of years and the transformation of the party from a movement into an electoral machine.

The CCF in the thirties had only a fraction of the electoral support it has today, yet it had many more members who played an active role. They were inspired by the idea of a socialist society.

The membership then did play an active role in discussing party policy. The CCF was a down-to-earth movement which intervened actively in the class struggle of the strikers and farmers to champion their cause

Celebrate . . .

MAY DAY

With the Socialist Educational
League

SUNDAY, APRIL 29

AT 8 P.M.

MINeworkers HALL

32 Isabella Street

HAIL SASK. CCF

By Jim Mitchell

The Workers
Vanquard

#2-Apr. 1956

The Canadian labor movement should take off its hat to the Saskatchewan CCF. In response to a red-baiting attack by the Saskatchewan Liberal party, inside and outside the legislature, the CCF has taken the principled and only position which can defeat McCarthyite witch hunting.

An editorial in the Sask. Commonwealth gives a very clear definition of witch hunting.

"The McCarthyite method is to start shouting 'Communist' at anyone to whom you are politically opposed and then wait for the jelly fish to join you. The jelly fish are those people who are so afraid that someone might call them Communist, too, that they join in shouting at the first victims, and to further prove their loyalty they also shout at all the friends, acquaintances and associates of those who have been first charged. It doesn't take long under this process for almost everybody to be under suspicion. Free thought, free association and free speech then become impossible. That is a condition which would-be dictators like to encourage, but it is something which no

believer in democracy can tolerate.

"Mr. Cameron and his cohorts have found that the Saskatchewan climate doesn't breed jelly fish."

What sparked the whole controversy in Saskatchewan was the fact that two civil servants participated in a meeting to raise funds for an appeal for Morton Sobell, a victim of the American witch hunt. The government has defended the two senior civil servants whose dismissal has been demanded by Mr. Cameron (Lib.—Maple Creek.) The Saskatchewan Liberal party is now using the incident, along with others, to red-bait the provincial CCF government which will probably be up for re-election this year.

Health Minister Tom Bentley, replying to the Liberals in the legislature, said that "Advocates of change have always been regarded as left wing or something else by those who support orthodoxy. It is an attempt to cast opprobrium upon those with a forward view." Mr. Bentley said he did not know whether the Sobell meeting was called by Communists or not.

"It was not illegal," he said. "I know of nothing to prevent anyone from going to a meeting if he wants to. Anyone who attempts to impugn their loyalty is unworthy of sitting in this house," he said. They are capable civil servants and good citizens.

In one of his speeches Cameron charged that another government employee had distributed communist literature during office hours to high school students. Mr. Bentley drew attention to the fact the Maple Creek member mentioned no name, place or time. He himself did not know of the case but he has never heard that the Labor Progressive party is illegal in Canada.

Unfortunately this principled resistance to the witch hunt has not been the attitude of the national leadership of the CCF or the leadership of other provincial sections. In fact the Saskatchewan Liberals might well have expected the CCF to run before them as the spokesmen of the rest of the movement have been doing all along. The red baiters didn't find "jelly fish" in Saskatchewan but they certainly have in other sections.

The Toronto Telegram, in a signed editorial on March 14th made a red-baiting attack on the

CCF. Under the title "Trouble in the CCF" the writer pulled together various incidents in the struggle between the right and left in the party, and attributed them to "communist infiltration."

The article attributes the defections of BC CCF leader Arnold Webster and Saskatchewan MP Ross Thatcher to "communist infiltration." It substantiates Thatcher's accusation that this is true by citing the Young case, the series of expulsions from the Ontario section that took place under the guise of a campaign against Trotskyists, and now the Saskatchewan CCF's refusal to witch hunt two civil servants for attending the Sobell meetings.

Rodney Young is a prominent BC leftist and ex-MP who was driven out of the CCF by the Webster leadership against the expressed will of a convention. The group which was witch hunted out of the Ontario section consisted of activists who were fighting for a socialist CCF policy. It was they, along with other socialists both within and outside of the CCF, who founded the Socialist Educational League and the WORKERS VANGUARD.

What a slap in the face for the right wing leadership of the Ontario and BC sections of the CCF. They are the ones who labelled Young and the Ontario leftists "Communist infiltrators." As a protest of their loyalty to social forces which are demanding the heads of those fighting to change society, the right wing "jelly fish" expelled the leftists. It availed them nothing. Far from taking

their actions as a proof of "loyalty," the boss press finds in their actions just so much more "evidence" for their red-baiting campaign.

The trick of labeling an opponent with a term which has been guaranteed to be loathsome by misrepresentation, misapplication and downright lying, has reached new heights in capitalist society. Having fewer and fewer answers for the just demands of the working people, boss politicians come to rely more and more on witch hunting.

The filthy methods of boss politics play a role in the labor movement. The right wing adopts witch hunting both to try to appease social pressure, and as an unprincipled expedient in their clashes with the left.

Of the latter, recent expulsions from the British Labour Party are a case in point. For some time now the right wing have been using these tactics against the left. At the crisis, flowing from the inability of the right to provide correct leadership, has deepened in the party, so the redbaiting and attempts to stifle the left have increased. The trend was made clear again last month when the leadership of the British Labour Party expelled 12 Labour councillors who represent party supporters in Cambridge.

Any labor party that is living and growing must inevitably develop internal differences. Any attempts to stifle freedom of discussion, to limit the rights of minorities to caucus and put forward their views, are blows against the party itself. Such actions can only serve to destroy the party as an instrument to express the will of the working people.

#5 - Apr. 1956



Former Hungarian CP leader Laszlo Rajk, and Bulgarian CP leader Kostov, are now admitted to have been framed and murdered. Under the same charges Slanski, Xoxe, Clementis, etc., were murdered.

In all these frame-ups Leon Trotsky was the main target—Rajk and Kostov were framed as Titoist-Trotskyist spies. Thousands were destroyed in the Moscow Trials as agents of Trotsky—himself murdered in 1940. Trotsky's widow has demanded the rehabilitation of her husband and a complete review of the Moscow Trials.



May 21, 1956

Dear Friend;

As you have no doubt noticed from press reports Daniel Renard, editor of LA VERITE and other members of the Parti Communist Internationaliste, French section of the Fourth International, have been arrested on several occasions since the Algerian liberation war began in November 1954.

LA VERITE has carried on a vigorous campaign against the war in North Africa and for French working class support to the North African national independence aspirations. On April 4, six police inspectors seized issue No. 401 as it left the printshop. Next morning the police returned to smash the type.

We have just received an emergency appeal for help. It is a very modest appeal for \$100, but it must be answered at once. Please send your contribution to R. Dowson, 569 Yonge Street, Toronto.

fraternally


R. Dowson

The tops has discussed this matter and has levied an assessment on your branch for \$60 of this amount.

HIGHLIGHTS OF BC CCF PROV. CONVENTION

By JANE McLEAN

As in previous years, delegates to the BC CCF Convention were swamped with reports and documents not previously circulated, upon which they were supposed to pass considered judgment without being given time to digest them. As usual most of it got only cursory attention if it was dealt with at all. There was one exception this year.

A comprehensive survey of the forest industry with a summary of conclusions based thereon was introduced. A high proportion of the convention's time was devoted to it. While the survey was good, the conclusions left much to be desired. Cliff Greer, a humorless schoolteacher, characterized it correctly when, with quite unconscious humor, he was speaking to an amendment he offered. He, it

appears, recorded and transcribed the forestry document from the dictation of F. McKenzie, (retiring president).

Greer spent a good 10 minutes lauding the magnificent brain of McKenzie which conceived this report. Over and over again he marvelled at this brain and each time he found a new adjective to describe it. Then, with dramatic bewilderment, he exclaimed: "But this document, without changing a word, could be submitted to, and would be passed by, the Liberal Convention which is meeting a few blocks up the street at this moment."

Greer's amendment proposed the setting up of a Crown Corporation to dabble in lumbering. In and of itself the amendment wasn't too strong but it did provide the spring-

board for a discussion on the merits of nationalization of the industry versus present capitalist exploitation. The debate was hot and sustained and the amendment lost by only a narrow margin.

Another interesting debate involved national defence expenditures. Delegates approved, without contentious debate, a committee-modified resolution which called upon the movement to "... take a determined stand against the continuance of Canada's huge defense costs ..."

The next day the panic was on. Delegates were informed by the right wing leadership that somehow this resolution had slipped through by mistake and was a time bomb under the party. At all costs it must be reconsidered—and so it was. A prepared substitute resolution was tossed on the floor and away went the debate.

The best speech of the whole convention was made by Dave Stupich of Nanaimo as he took the microphone to introduce a series of amendments. The key one was to strike out two words from the following: "That this convention takes a stand that Canada's defense costs should be substantially reduced." He proposed to substitute "eliminated" for "substantially reduced."

With great passion and conviction he traced how conditional support of defense measures trapped the party in the capitalist war machine and led from one debacle to another. It was a magnificent appeal, but the respectful partisans of the right dutifully and apathetically raised their cards and the amendment went down on a close vote.

The most significant retreat of

the right wing, one which reveals most clearly the changing situation in the movement, occurred under the heading of "Constitutional Affairs." For almost a decade a continuous effort has been made to eliminate the local area clubs and exclude them from direct representation at conventions. The previous convention seemed to have set the stage. All that remained was to cross the "t's" and dot the "i's" on constitutional amendments this year.

The resolutions to accomplish this were on the order paper duly submitted by supporters of the right wing—but the leadership defaulted and no high power support was forthcoming. As a result club delegates and left wingers took the initiative and succeeded in clarifying the constitutional clauses dealing with clubs and appear to have definitively settled the matter of the continuing right of political expression through the clubs. The importance of this organizational expression of the changing situation in BC must be taken into account when assessing the political future of the party.

However, though the right wing were in retreat and on the defensive their cold fingers are still frozen on the controls of the directive and administrative machinery of the party. In spite of declamations about the need of "new blood" all party offices were filled with familiar right wing faces.

Thus, the faction which has no answers to the problems confronting the party retains organizational control. The contradictions of this situation are certain to produce a marked intensification of political life in the movement in the coming period.

A selection of important books that are available through the Toronto Labor Bookstore

The Case For Socialism—Henderson	\$.35
America's Road to Socialism—Cannon	\$.35
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific—Engels	\$.25
Why Socialism—Albert Einstein	\$.10
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Behind the Moscow Trials—Shachtman	\$.25
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The Second International— G. D. H. Cole	\$12.00
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#6 May 1956

THE WORKERS' VANGUARD

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Withdraw From NATO!

When it was organized, NATO was explained and justified to the people of Canada as a "defensive" alliance against the "menace of Communist aggression." It was formed under the leadership of US imperialism as part of its plans to encircle the USSR in preparation for a military assault on that country. But NATO was passed off on the Canadian people as just its opposite. Government spokesmen hailed this instrument of reaction as a great "bastion of democracy."

To the workers of Europe, NATO is a symbol of foreign occupation, of a military force backing up the unstable capitalist regimes in their countries. The pressure of anti-NATO feeling has caused the government of Iceland to refuse to garrison American armed forces. The people of Ceylon have also recorded their opposition. It has become crystal clear that this so-called "defensive" and "democratic" alliance is in reality an instrument of war and imperialist oppression.

At the time of its formation, the CCF leadership went along with all the phony arguments turned out by the government, and supported Canadian participation in NATO. Events have vindicated the position of the CCF left wing which saw at once the reactionary character of NATO and fought against Canadian membership.

Canadian armed forces are aiding in the subjugation of colonial peoples. By contributing troops to NATO, Canada is freeing large numbers of British and French forces to be used for the suppression of national independence movements in their colonies.

France has recently withdrawn almost its entire commitment from NATO to suppress the Algerian national liberation movement. Without the presence of Canadian and American troops in Europe, it would be impossible for the French imperialists to so drastically reduce their European military forces. Over the last 10 years, the existence of NATO has been a big factor in the military ability of British and French imperialism to maintain their tyranny over millions of people rebelling against their colonial rule.

The CCF MP's, the falseness of their previous position now revealed to them, should demand that Canada withdraw from NATO, that Canadian troops should stop being used as accomplices to murder! The CCF, as the spokesmen of the working people of Canada, should express solidarity with the struggle of the Algerian people for freedom and national independence.

The smashing of NATO, an alliance of the forces of war and imperialism, would be a great step towards peace. It would be a real blow to the crumbling empires of Britain and France, and a real blow on behalf of the millions now enslaved in the colonies.

WHY DID CLC FAIL TO ENDORSE CCF?

The question that was thought would be the thorniest before the unity sessions of the Canadian Labour Congress was shoved aside after three-quarters of an hour debate. The delegates adopted a compound resolution presented by the top brass setting forth a policy of so-called neutrality in the political arena. Only a scattering of delegates registered opposition. Scores abstained, only one delegate spoke against the resolution.

Thus 13 years of the Canadian Congress of Labor (CIO) endorsation of the CCF as labor's political arm ended. The traditional policy of the former Trades and Labor Congress (AFL) became the policy of the united Canadian Labour Congress. The CCL Political Action Committees are to adopt the name of the Political Educational Committees which the TLC set up on paper two years ago. This national Political Educational Department will follow a policy of "neutrality" while affiliates, should they desire, can continue to back the CCF.

CCL delegates who, at the united convention, outnumbered TLC delegates by over 200, since 1943 at their independent conventions have overwhelmingly endorsed the CCF as their political arm. The only opposition in the past came from a scattering of Stalinist delegates who under the banner of "neutrality" rallied a few handfuls of Liberal and Tory hangers-on to oppose CCF endorsation. The past years have witnessed increasing support for the CCF in TLC bodies across the country. Last winter a move to commit the Ontario convention of the TLC-AFL to the CCF was only defeated in a snap vote by a narrow margin.

It was the unchallengeable fact that the overwhelming majority of the rank and file delegates to the unity convention were CCF supporters that caused many observers to speculate that the political

resolution would provoke a stormy debate. For, on the other hand, it was as well known a fact that the top leadership of the TLC-AFL were vigorously opposed to supporting Canada's farmer-labor party.

One thing that these observers did not take into account was the role that the top trade unionists who have traditionally supported the CCF and the CCF party leadership itself would play in this important conflict.

The apostles of company unionism in politics were not even required to appear before the assembled delegates. CCF union leaders did the job for them. One Provincial President of the Ontario section of the CCF Eamon Park Steel leader and former BC CCF MLA Bert Gargraves, leading TLCer and former CCF candidate Doug Hamilton, hit the floor to urge endorsation of the resolution—to block endorsation of the CCF.

For months prior to the convention CCF unionists in both labor bodies had been cajoled by top brass CCFers to not press for CCF endorsation.

In a last-minute move to settle the score with recalcitrants, the CCF trade union brass brought national leader M. J. Coldwell along with several other CCF MP's to a national political action committee rally. Coldwell signified his agreement with the policy of the trade union leadership.

The only voice for independent labor political action, for endorsation of the CCF by the CLC, was **THE WORKERS VANGUARD**. It was distributed before the debate to all the delegates. Hamiltonian Steel and CCF leader Stuart Cook, one of the speakers supporting the leadership's resolution, red-baited the **VANGUARD** as a paper put out by a section of the Communist Party to confuse and disorient the delegates.

BC CCF Elects New House Leader No Discussion of Party Policy

The April convention of the BC section of the CCF qualifies for a "strange as it seems" label. After three days of revolving debate which left the major part of the

By GLEN KIRKWELL

agenda and convention material untouched, the BC section made the beginning of a turn towards the working class without making a conscious declaration to this effect. In fact, there was no alteration of declared right wing policy. Nevertheless, this was the REAL implication of the struggle for the leadership of the BC parliamentary group. The nomination of Robert Strachan, MLA, by the right wing for this position is a tacit admission of their own bankruptcy.

When Harold Winch was pushed out of the leadership of the BC CCF (resigned was a nice way of putting it) Strachan and one or two others who might be accused of proletarian leanings were probable choices for the vacant post.

Into the breach was rushed Arnold Webster, a pillar of middle class respectability. The jump from the class room to the class struggle was too much for him and, after two years of sterile frittering, he crawled back into the shadow of the blackboard—leaving his right wing friends holding the bag.

The pitiful retreat of Arnold Webster caught the right wing with no respectable middle class front man they could throw into the gap. Many petty individuals had aspirations but none had any

weight or prestige. The only real hope of the right wing, Ran Harding, MLA—a small logging operator—was more concerned about poles than politics and turned down a pre-convention nomination for the job.

In this situation, with no candidate of their own free choice, the right wing were in a dilemma. Strachan had already indicated he wanted the post. If they chose to oppose him, their candidate would probably be eliminated on a split vote and still Strachan, or even an independent choice of the left wing, would be selected by the convention. They made the "Job's" choice of supporting Strachan to preserve the appearance of control!

This was the picture on the eve of the Convention. Where and how did the left wing inject itself into the situation? As far as can be discerned—it didn't, at least until the convention was convened. A power struggle in the organization seemed to offer no possibilities at this juncture and no effort was made to line up for a fight on the matter of the parliamentary leadership. Rumors were afoot that some elements of the left had plotted with Colin Cameron, MP, to "draft" him for the job and perhaps the right wing were panicked

DEFY FRANCO

A wave of militant strikes has swept through northern Spain. The forces that motivated the strikes was the terrible inflation and rising living costs.

In Pampalona, the workers struck after the government had raised wages 20 per cent. This raise had not been sufficient to meet the problems of the workers. The workers organized a picnic on the banks of the river Varga during working hours. They took this method of strike because strikes are illegal under Franco's dictatorship.

Sympathy strikes flared up in other northern industrial centers. In Bilboa a fascist official suspended and locked out thousands of workers in retaliation against a slowdown. The strike wave spread as far as Barcelona, the industrial heartland.

This inspiring action, in the teeth of the tyranny of Spanish capitalism, is a testimonial to the indestructibility of the power of the working class.

(Continued on page 2)

569 Yonge St
June 25, 1956

Dear Comrades;

We received a letter from Myra informing us that she ~~was~~ ^{is} due tax in Buffalo from June 27 through June 30. After that she will have five days before being due in Boston.

Unfortunately the July 1st week end during which she would presumably be free to come up here is a very bad one for us. This is the Dominion Day holiday weekend. Monday is a legal holiday--in celebration of the confederation of the various provinces thus preserving them from annexation to the good old US of A. Of course nothing is more fluid than capital and Canadian sovereignty has suffered somewhat in recent years through the great superfluity of capital that has been piled up south of the 42nd parallel ~~xx~~ and has been slipping over the border . Nonetheless we all celebrate July 2nd by taking it off. Sort of unprincipled but we take the holiday anyway.

The first date we could arrange a satisfactory meeting would be Tuesday July 3rd. Of course we would welcome Myra anytime before and after that date. I am sure that there is much we could profitably talk over. However should she be unable to arrange to be here on the 3rd we would suggest that you by-pass us this trip. We are sure that Myra could put the leisure to good use.

Should she be able to accomodate us on the 3rd however would you wire us as soon as this can be made definite. Due to the closeness to the holiday weekend we feel that the meeting we would plan would be held in our own headquarters and would be organized on a modest basis--notices going out to contacts and symapthizers--no newspaper ads or anything like that.

You will be sorry to hear that our much looked forward debate with the Stalinists has been broken off. There must have been quite a squabble in their Toronto leadership over whether to go on with it. They stalled, delayed and equivocated right up until Thursday and then told us that the date was not satisfactory--when we offered to change it to meet their convenience it turned out that it was not the day or the week but the month--both July and August were not satisfactory and possibly we could go ahead in the Fall. Of course we felt that it never would come off but they were committed to it before over 200 of their Toronto membership and they do now talk about democratic discussion with opponents and there must be significant differences in their circleXX that would tend to make this matter a contentious one. Of course this refusal will be useful to us although certainly not as useful as the debate could have been for us--even internationally.

You will of course wire us as soon as possible whatever decision you and Myra take with regards to coming up here

with warmest grretings

ROSS

For CCF Governments in
the Provinces and Ottawa.



Liberals Strangle House Debate Rout Nationally Owned Pipeline

By VIRGINIA WILSON

In a flurry of dictatorial closure motions strangling debate, the Liberal government is fast bringing to a close the most fantastic "sell-out" in Canadian history. Before long, enormous profits from the exploitation of Canada's natural gas will be flowing into the pockets of US financiers via the Trans-Canada pipeline. Although the government has consistently ignored Saskatchewan's pleas for assistance in its badly needed power and irrigation scheme — although it alleges no money for old age pensions or a salt plan — yet this same government is ready to lay out approximately \$190 million for what has been aptly termed, by CCF P. Alistair Stewart, "A Colombo Plan for Texas Tycoons."

Recently C. D. Howe threw a \$15 million gift to Trans-Canada agreeing to build, at public expense, the unprofitable Northern Ontario section of the line. As if it wasn't enough the Liberals are now going to subsidize this company to the tune of \$80 million in the "easy" Western section. In her words, Canadian taxpayers will pay 90 per cent of the cost of the line which is presently 33 per cent American owned.

The current uproar in parliament is turned into a debacle of conflicting interests. The Conservatives have put on their greatest display of demagoguery in years. They have been the most vociferous opponents of the Liberal deal, playing about such demagogic ruses as "sell-out," "dictatorship" and "fascist mentality."

What is actually behind these stunts is nothing more than the desire to win votes while nothing is at stake and there is no danger of definite action. All their loud words merely mean turning the line over to CANADIAN PRIVATE interests and allowing THEM to siphon off the profits instead of American capitalists.

For true the Conservatives are their own demands for an "all Canadian" pipeline is evident from the stand of the Conservative Government in Ontario. Contrary to their national counterparts, they have given the go-ahead to St. Lawrence. They have agreed to pay in \$35 million of public funds to assist in building the unprofitable Northern Ontario route. As himself has stated he has interest in how the gas gets

here, but only that it does get here and soon. Like the Liberals the Ontario Conservatives plead "urgency." While Drew is making political capital at Ottawa and rubbing his hands over votes in the next election, the Tories-in-office have lined up behind the Liberals.

While the Conservatives are divided—the Federal party making a play for electoral gains and the Ontario party catering to sectional capitalist interests — Carl Nickle, PC member for Calgary, has bolted the party ranks to the side of the Liberals in Ottawa. Just to show what really influences these "representatives of the people" it has been revealed that Mr. Nickle is a director of Bailey-Selburn Oil and Gas Ltd. which has a contract to sell gas from the Alberta fields to Trans-Canada once operations commence.

US LABOR BACKS NEGRO STRUGGLE

Over 20,000 people filled New York's Madison Square Gardens on May 24 to "salute and support the heroes of the South." Sponsored by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the NAACP, and other groups, and supported by most of the area's trade unions, it was the biggest civil rights turnout in the North since the Montgomery bus protest against segregation began.

The spirited audience, about 20 per cent white, cheered Charles Zimmerman, representing the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, when he told of the newly formed AFL-CIO Labor Committee on Civil Rights. He said it was formed to "give more than moral backing to the fight against the White Citizens Councils." The Committee has set out to raise \$2 million for use in such fights as the Montgomery bus protest.

After five hours of speakers, including Aurlene Lucy who told of her 5-year fight to enter Alabama University, E. D. Nixon, one of the leaders of the Montgomery Improvement Association, took the floor. "The Montgomery Improvement Association is like the rock of Gibraltar," he said, and sat down.

The Workers Vanquard

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June 1956

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Toronto—Price 5 cents

30 FOR 40 IS ANSWER TO LAYOFFS IN AUTO

On May 25th Ford of Canada laid off some 1700 workers from its Windsor and Oakville plants. This follows the company's April layoffs and brings the total of workers jettisoned by Ford up to well over 2500. Chrysler Corp. completely shut down its car passenger plant for a period in May, putting 4,500 men out of work.

The entire automotive industry is in the midst of a serious unemployment crisis. Despite the fact that the auto barons have been chalking up the highest profits in history—GM made an all-time record last year—their layoffs and shutdowns have hit almost one-third of the total number of auto

workers in the United States. The auto moguls normally employ close to 900,000 workers. NEW YORK TIMES reports 300,000 affected. The UAW estimates that almost 200,000 of these workers are completely laid off.

Twelve thousand workers of the Standard Motor Co. in England pulled off a militant strike against layoffs due to automation. The layoffs endangered the livelihood of 35 per cent of Standard Workers. They struck for a shorter work week at the same take-home pay.

The men returned to work on the promise of negotiations. On May 30th the company announced lay-off of 2,649 workers. The shop stewards immediately recommended strike once again.

On May 12 the N.Y. Times reported that UAW president Walter P. Reuther had expressed anew his concern over unemployment in the automobile industry. "The auto workers now on layoff," declared Reuther, "are victims of irresponsible scheduling of production by the automobile industry, and in part a result of the insane competitive struggle in 1955 when high pressure selling chopped a huge chunk out of the 1956 market."

What Reuther says is commonplace knowledge among the auto workers. The production schedules

and high-pressure sales methods led to a back-breaking speedup in the plants and to cut-throat competition which saturated the market with cars on long-term credit schemes.

Profit-hungry greed has always motivated the production plans of the auto barons. Auto workers have never been able to achieve any degree of security precisely because the money grubbing corporations are unable and unwilling to plan production to meet the workers' needs. Their production methods have precipitated one crisis after another.

The immediate answer to the unemployment in the auto industry is the shorter work week. The fight for this goal will demand a militancy which the auto workers have proved themselves capable of during the Windsor car barricades and numerous other occasions.

A resolution of UAW local 695 (GM Linden, N.J.) shows the way—it says:

"Since the UAW has established the principle that our contract is a 'living document,' we 'call upon the International Executive Board ... to authorize the General Motors Department of the Union to call upon the corporation to: (1) Call back all laid-off employees. (2) Renegotiate the contract to provide a 30-hour week for 40-hours pay. (3) Renegotiate the contract to provide call-in pay for an entire week's work for each week an employee reports to work."

STRIKE AND FARE HOIST FACE TORONTONIANS

By ROSS DOWSON

Socialist Educational League candidate for Mayor of Toronto, 1955-56

The working people of Toronto are paying a high price for the Tory-Liberal political combination that controls City Hall. Last month two paid with their lives. Very shortly there may be no

garbage collection or any other outside services. On July 1st all the signs point to a 2½-cent fare increase being put into effect on the municipally owned transportation system.

Biagio Picciotoli, 45 years, and his son Giovanni, age 3, were burnt to death. The only stairway from



Dowson

third floor over a street as block-fires; regulations require that stairs be fire-proof but they are not. The Department Nos. 14466 powers to lift dangerous

that 763 of 1,573 premises examined, did not meet minimum requirements. But the city council, subservient to landlord and real-estate interests, has done nothing to enforce these by-laws.

The Board of Control threatens to deprive the city of garbage collection and all other outside services, and seal off most of the city

hall, through its arrogant anti-labor relations with civic employees Local 43 and 79.

While union representatives of Local 43, representing outside workers, Local 79, representing white-collar workers at city hall, and the firemen, were attempting to negotiate an improved contract, the Board set its budget. The budget made no provisions for any concessions to the civic employees' demands. By this tactic the Board placed the 4,800 civic employees and their families in the position where they could be made to appear responsible for any supplementary tax increase or depletion of special items from the budget.

Local 79 is seeking a 3½ per cent wage increase. Local 43 an 8 per cent increase. The Firefighters are asking for a reduction in their work week from 56 to 40 hours. All are asking for fringe benefits. Ken Hancock, a spokesman for Local 79, told the Toronto District Trades and Labor Council that "Some city workers, married, grade 3 clerks, with children, were going home with \$48 a week."

While adopting a hold-the-line (Continued on page 4)

Poznan Workers Revolt Against Stalinist Chiefs

From all the sketchy reports that have slipped through the blackout imposed by the Polish government on the uprising that seized the city of Poznan in its grip, it is clear that;

1) This was an uprising of the working class of this important industrial city launched against terrible odds, in the face of machine guns and tank artillery, with the support of the overwhelming majority of the population. In its course if won to its side not only the workers' militia and the factory guards, but sections of the Polish army itself.

2) The Poznan uprising was not promoted by, supported by, or in any way whatsoever under the influence of, the US State Department or the Imperialist supported Polish government-in-exile in London.

3) It was a struggle against the Stalinist regime, against the arbitrary rule of the Communist Party

government, against grave inequalities that result in workers going without food while bureaucrats have plenty, for the right of free speech, free assembly, freedom of the workers to organize economically and politically in their own interests.

4) The Polish Stalinist chiefs, aware of the legitimate grievances of the workers of Poznan, with no support in the masses, utilized Soviet occupational troops to destroy the protest demonstration in blood and terror, employing not rule of law but the gunfire justice of charged—tried—sentenced to death on the streets.

The heroic struggle of the Poznan workers burst out just three years almost to a day after the East German workers struck the

(Continued on page 2)

Malcolm Bruce On Stalin Cult At Van CCF Forum

VANCOUVER—Malcolm Bruce spoke to capacity audiences here on June 3rd and 10th at the Stanley Park CCF Club Sunday night forums. Now a member of the CCF, Bruce was a founding member of the Workers Party, which later became the Communist Party of Canada. He was imprisoned in 1931 with Tim Buck and other leaders of the CP under the notorious section 98 of the Criminal Code which was passed against the Winnipeg General Strikers and was finally repealed in 1936 under the pressure of J. S. Woodsworth and others.

Almost half of the forum audience were youthful members, or ex-members and sympathizers of the Labour Progressive party. They were attracted by a leaflet distributed by the Forum Committee at Tim Buck's meeting on May 31st.

In his first speech Bruce pointed out: "Stalin's crimes cannot be explained as personal deviations, insanity and so on but only by social analysis. The cult of Stalin was directly fostered by the expansion and development of the bureaucracy which itself grew out of the unfavorable conditions in which the young Soviet state found itself."

He reviewed the 20th Congress, the history of Stalinism and its meaning on the international plane. The speaker began with the period of Lenin's illness and showed that Lenin was in sharp conflict with Stalin. In his "Testament," which was suppressed by Stalin for many years, Lenin questioned Stalin's loyalty and demanded his removal from the post of General Secretary. Following Lenin's death Stalin invented the theory of "socialism in one country" which is anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist and means class collaboration on an international scale. The bureaucracy required that the Soviet social equilibrium remain undisturbed if they were to maintain their caste privileges.

Again and again the speaker flayed the Stalinist apparatus of the CP pointing out their record of betrayals of the workers during the past 30 years, citing the bureaucratic interference of the apparatus with the organs of the party and ending with a warning to the young members of the LPP

(Continued on page 4)

Vol. 1, No. 8

July, 1956

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Toronto—Price 5 cents

SASK CCF BEATS BOSS PARTIES FURTHER GAINS NOW POSSIBLE

Despite a tremendous barrage of propaganda from the parties of Big Business, the people of Saskatchewan have swept the CCF back into power for a fourth consecutive term. While the CCF

seats but dropped 8 per cent to 31 per cent of the popular vote. The Liberals inaugurated their campaign last winter with a vicious witch-hunting attack on the CCF government for its defence of two civil servants the Liberals labelled subversives.

To its credit the CCF government took a clear and principled stand in defence of the right of civil servants to freedom of opinion and association.

The Liberals also made use of the red-baiting smears of renegade CCF MP Ross Thatcher in their election campaign. Like Thatcher, they accused the Saskatchewan CCF of being infiltrated with "Communists." An independent candidate, backed by Thatcher and supported by the Liberal machine, was badly beaten by the CCF in Moose Jaw—the people of that city thus showing their contempt for the red-baiters.

The election was featured by a gigantic campaign staged by the Social Credit Party, which ran candidates in all 53 seats. With the Liberal party becoming increasingly discredited, and the Tories all but obliterated, the big capitalist interests poured thousands of dollars into the Sacred coffers. In Quebec Sacred linked arms with the Liberals—in Saskatchewan it took over the decrepit Tory machine.

Spokesmen for the reactionary Sacred governments of Alberta and BC toured the province making demagogic promises and peddling their hare-brained economic panaceas. The campaign waged by the Sacreds and their fascist-minded hangers-on was highlighted in an election speech by Orvis Kennedy, Social Credit National Organizer. In a tirade against the CCF, containing the usual Sacred demagoguery against an international capitalist-communist conspiracy, he claimed that, "If they had left Hitler alone he would have been all right."

Social Credit won three seats and 21 per cent of the vote, a sizeable gain from 4 per cent in the last election. However, considering the scale of their campaign it was not as large as many expected. The vast majority of the CCF supporters stood by the party, which has proven itself worthy of the confidence of the working people of Saskatchewan.

Although the Douglas administration has had some shortcomings from a socialist viewpoint, considering the limitations of a provincial economy, Canada's first health and hospitalization service, its first provincial bill of rights and other legislation are tributes to its progressive role. The CCF government has consistently carried to Ottawa the demands of the farmers for parity prices, cash advances on farm-stored grain and other demands to combat the agricultural crisis.

In its 10 years in office the provincial CCF government has undertaken a great program of rural electrification, a prime need for the farmers of Saskatchewan. It

has carried forward extensive irrigation and reclamation programs. This has been done in the face of the sabotage of the Liberal Federal government which has refused to undertake the essential South Saskatchewan dam and irrigation project.

During this election the labour movement in the province intervened to a greater extent in the CCF campaign. The Regina Trades and Labour Council (TLC), in spite of the reactionary retreat on political action by the heads of the new Canadian Labour Congress joined the CCL council in endorsing the CCF. Labour in Saskatchewan sees the need to protect and extend the gains made under the CCF Labour Code.

The CCF in Saskatchewan has carried out its program in the face of constant opposition and harassment from Big Business and the Federal government. Premier Douglas, in his final election broadcast declared to the workers and farmers of the province that "today with nothing but our convictions and our faith in your support, we are fighting powerful financial interests who have millions at their beck and call." He called upon CCF supporters not only to vote but to join and work actively in the CCF.

The building of a grass roots, rank and file controlled CCF, not just in Saskatchewan but on a national scale, is the road ahead for the workers and farmers of Canada. A CCF government in Ottawa, pledged to a socialist program, will overcome the limitations imposed upon a provincial government, and open the door to the final solution of the problems of the farmers and workers of all of Canada.

BRAZILIANS FIGHT CANADIAN CAPITAL

Attempts by Brazilian Traction to double tramway fares in Rio de Janeiro have been defeated by militant demonstrations of workers and students. Over 200 cars were damaged and dozens of people arrested. Striking students returned to classes on June 11th when the company backed down.

The tramways are owned by Brazilian Traction, Light and Power Co., Canadian capitalism's largest single foreign investment with total assets of almost one billion dollars. Besides the tramways, which are so short of equipment and in such condition that fatal accidents are daily occurrences, Brazilian Traction produces and distributes more than 65 per cent of the total power produced in Brazil, controls gas, and supplies over 80 per cent of the telephones.

The government gave Brazilian Traction the go-ahead on the fare increase as it did with telephone rates and new electric tariffs in the early part of this year. Other applications for increased rates are in the hopper. This vast monopoly dominates an area of 250,000 square miles with a population almost double that of Canada.



STOP H-BOMB TESTS — AN EDITORIAL —

During a visit to Ottawa on May 19th Field Marshall Montgomery declared that an atomic war "would create the most frightful destruction to millions of people." He readily agreed that, if a global conflict did break out, "there would be nothing more left to civilization than a bob-tail cat."

Science has clearly outlined the horrible future to be expected in the advent of a thermo-nuclear war. But a startling and immediate danger is that presented by recent thermo-nuclear tests. World scientists have attempted to point out the risks of excessive radiation on living and unborn generations in the face of attempts on the part of ruling circles to minimize the danger arising out of H-Bomb tests.

In a report of June 12th the British Medical Research Council considers that nobody is likely to be hurt externally from fallout resulting from nuclear weapon tests, but internal damage may be caused by a component of nuclear bomb fallout called radiostrontium "which is beginning to accumulate in the bone." Among the ill effects cited were bone tumors and irremedial diseases of the bone marrow and blood cells such as aplastic anaemia and leukemia.

The US National Academy of Sciences, accepting the continuation of H-Bomb test explosions, recommended, on June 12th, major precautions to meet the threat caused by increased exposure to radiation in this atomic age.

It warned that radiation from any sources—bombs, nuclear reactors, X-rays or natural environment—is often harmful to life. The Academy said that any intensified testing of weapons beyond

(Continued on page 3)

SASK CCF BEATS BOSS PARTIES FURTHER GAINS NOW POSSIBLE

Despite a tremendous barrage of propaganda from the parties of Big Business, the people of Saskatchewan have swept the CCF back into power for a fourth consecutive term. While the CCF vote dropped, from 54 to 45 per

cent of the total and the party lost seven seats, it retained 35 of the 53 seats in the house. The workers and farmers of the province, having made gains in labour, farm and social security legislation over the past 10 years, rejected the phony promises and anti-CCF slanders put out by the Liberal and Social Credit parties.

With a new leadership and a fat treasury, the Liberals gained three seats but dropped 8 per cent to 31 per cent of the popular vote. The Liberals inaugurated their campaign last winter with a vicious witch-hunting attack on the CCF government for its defence of two civil servants the Liberals labelled subversives.

To its credit the CCF government took a clear and principled stand in defence of the right of civil servants to freedom of opinion and association.

The Liberals also made use of the red-baiting smears of renegade CCF MP Ross Thatcher in their election campaign. Like Thatcher, they accused the Saskatchewan CCF of being infiltrated with "Communists." An independent candidate, backed by Thatcher and supported by the Liberal machine, was badly beaten by the CCF in Moose Jaw—the people of that city thus showing their contempt for the red-baiters.

The election was featured by a gigantic campaign staged by the Social Credit Party, which ran candidates in all 53 seats. With the Liberal party becoming increasingly discredited, and the Tories all but obliterated, the big capitalist interests poured thousands of dollars into the Socred coffers. In Quebec Socred linked arms with the Liberals—in Sas-

katchewan it took over the decrepit Tory machine.

Spokesmen for the reactionary Socred governments of Alberta and BC toured the province making demagogic promises and peddling their hare-brained economic panaceas. The campaign waged by the Socreds and their fascist-minded hangers-on was highlighted in an election speech by Orvis Kennedy, Social Credit National Organizer. In a tirade against the CCF, containing the usual Socred demagoguery against an international capitalist-communist conspiracy, he claimed that, "If they had left Hitler alone he would have been all right."

Social Credit won three seats and 21 per cent of the vote, a sizable gain from 4 per cent in the last election. However, considering the scale of their campaign it was not as large as many expected. The vast majority of the CCF supporters stood by the party, which has proven itself worthy of the confidence of the working people of Saskatchewan.

Although the Douglas administration has had some shortcomings from a socialist viewpoint, considering the limitations of a provincial economy, Canada's first health and hospitalization service, its first provincial bill of rights and other legislation are tributes to its progressive role. The CCF government has consistently carried to Ottawa the demands of the farmers for parity prices, cash advances on farm-stored grain and other demands to combat the agricultural crisis.

In its 10 years in office the provincial CCF government has undertaken a great program of rural electrification, a prime need for the farmers of Saskatchewan. It

has carried forward extensive irrigation and reclamation programs. This has been done in the face of the sabotage of the Liberal Federal government which has refused to undertake the essential South Saskatchewan dam and irrigation project.

During this election the labour movement in the province intervened to a greater extent in the CCF campaign. The Regina Trades and Labour Council (TLC), in spite of the reactionary retreat on political action by the heads of the new Canadian Labour Congress joined the CCL council in endorsing the CCF. Labour in Saskatchewan sees the need to protect and extend the gains made under the CCF Labour Code.

The CCF in Saskatchewan has carried out its program in the face of constant opposition and harassment from Big Business and the Federal government. Premier Douglas, in his final election broadcast declared to the workers and farmers of the province that "today with nothing but our convictions and our faith in your support, we are fighting powerful financial interests who have millions at their beck and call." He called upon CCF supporters not only to vote but to join and work actively in the CCF.

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***For CCF Governments in
the Provinces and Ottawa***

THE WORKERS' VANGUARD

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EDITOR—JAMES MITCHELL Subscription 50c a year (12 issues)

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STOP H-BOMB TESTS**AN EDITORIAL**

During a visit to Ottawa on May 19th Field Marshall Montgomery declared that an atomic war "would create the most frightful destruction to millions of people." He readily agreed that, if a global conflict did break out, "there would be nothing more left to civilization than a bob-tail cat."

Science has clearly outlined the horrible future to be expected in the advent of a thermo-nuclear war. But a startling and immediate danger is that presented by recent thermo-nuclear tests. World scientists have attempted to point out the risks of excessive radiation on living and unborn generations in the face of attempts on the part of ruling circles to minimize the danger arising out of H-Bomb tests.

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(Continued on page 3)

Stop H-Bomb Tests cont. . .

the present rate would increase the genetic hazard and might bring the strontium hazard to the critical point throughout the world.

Research in the South Pacific showed that 13 months after the first hydrogen bomb test at Bikini in 1954 the contaminated water mass of the Pacific Ocean at the scene of the explosion had spread over 1 million square miles.

Two days after the March 1, 1954 test, the radioactivity of the surface water near Bikini was observed to be "a million times greater than the naturally occurring radioactivity." At the end of 13 months, the radioactivity had been reduced, but could be detected 3,500 miles from the source.

On June 19th Health Minister Martin stated that "the Canadian Government has no say in whether nuclear weapons tests are carried out." He was replying in the commons to Erhart Regier (CCF, Burnaby-Coquitlam) who asked whose authority radioactive rain fell on Vancouver Island about a week ago. Since then radioactive rain has fallen in Australia.

What Martin really meant was that the Canadian government does not want to press for a halt to thermo-nuclear tests—although Canada, as a member of NATO, presumably has a full voice in its decisions.

But those who rule Canada, and their lackeys in parliament, have no wish to call a halt to development of atomic weapons. Canadian capitalists, as members of the western imperialist camp, see the very foundations of their system crumbling. They would just as soon face the possible destruction of humanity as face the loss of their power.

Viscount Montgomery sees the end of civilization with another global war. Yet he further stated that if he were head of allied forces in Europe he would not wait for approval from his "political bosses" before ordering nuclear attack. He would let hell break loose at the slightest suggestion of aggression. He says this in the face of the fact that the USSR is decreasing arms production, is withdrawing troops from Germany, and is admittedly directing her atomic research increasingly into the realm of pure science.

First, thermo-nuclear tests, then war—this is the future if the bosses remain in control too long. When the hour comes they will shut their eyes and plunge the world into the abyss as they have done before.

But there are other forces—forces that demand a halt to all future tests of atomic weapons—forces that demand control of their future. Humanity refuses to accept the grisly future offered by capitalism. It seeks to complete the science that brought us the atomic age by introducing the science of planned economy on a world-wide scale.

This fundamental drive, registered in preliminary upheavals throughout the colonial world in the past decade, will surely find expression in the not distant future in the advanced countries. And that will mean the end of capitalism and the opening of the era of enduring peace and unlimited abundance that atomic energy holds in store.

In this fateful contest we think socialism will win. Victory will be assured, we think, when it becomes crystal clear to the majority what the alternatives mean to the world. Only socialism will prevent a third world war and the atomic destruction of humanity.

COURTS FRUSTRATE SASK. GOVT.'S POLICY

The old line parties have continually failed to prevent the CCF from being elected and re-elected in Saskatchewan: This failure has forced Canadian Big Business to change its tactics in its attempts to defeat the CCF.

Not being able to defeat it at the polls, the bosses are making more use of their legal system to smash the CCF government's legislation. Rule by courts is replacing rule by the elected legislature in Saskatchewan. In order to realize what an effective weapon the capitalist courts are, let's recall a bit of recent history.

In 1951 the courts moved in against the Farm Security Act. Under this act the farmer with a mortgage on his land was protected during a crop failure. By the act, the farmer did not have to pay interest or principal on the mortgage for at least a year.

In 1951 the courts challenged the validity of this attempt by the CCF government to give the farmers a little security. The judges ruled that the farmer must pay interest on the principal. During a period of serious crop failure this so-called legal decision will cost many farmers their farms.

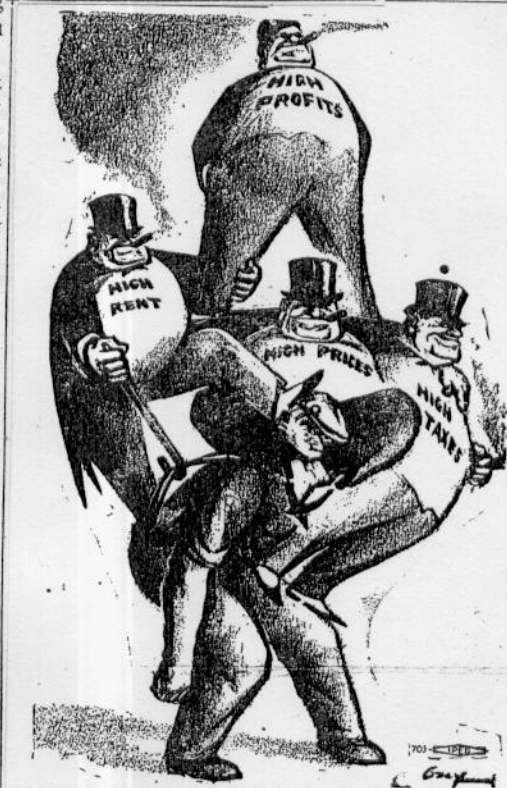
Encouraged by their victory over the Farm Security Act, the judiciary next attacked the Moratorium Act. This act protected debtors for two years from their creditors. The Moratorium Act was originally passed by the Liberals in a last-minute attempt to prevent the CCF from getting elected to office. It was a fairly safe act to pass in 1943 when, unlike the '30s, conditions were prosperous.

Now that farm income is zooming downward and wheat surpluses are getting bigger this act could be of use to farmers. It could protect the farmers from the banks and insurance companies. But last Fall the Supreme Court of Canada ruled it invalid.

As Premier Douglas declared: "We have been deprived of the Moratorium Act at the very time that the protection was most needed."

The seven members of the Supreme Court (six Liberals, one not sure) were unanimous in their decision against the people of Saskatchewan. The Liberal Party's Attorney General personally backed the demand by the Canadian Bankers' Association and the Dominion Mortgage and Investment Association that the Moratorium Act be destroyed immediately.

Within the last few months the courts have been stepping up their attacks on labour in Saskatchewan. The federally appointed Saskatche-



TRADE UNIONS FIGHT LAYOFFS AS BRITAIN HEADS FOR CRISIS

By SAM LEWIS

Nearly 50,000 men in 13 factories of Britain's biggest car combine have walked off the job in a massive protest against the firing of 6,000 workmates. In a

labor force and a greater exploitation of the remainder. The workers, faced with increased inflation, the speed up, and now the first big lay-off since the war, are responding with demands for wage

B. The costs of the growing militant struggle of the colonial masses from Hong Kong to Cyprus against British imperialism. Some of these costs are: Loss in markets, loss in raw materials, and loss of support

wan appeals court—28 out of 30 judges are Liberals — has been carrying the ball.

They recently tossed out a labour relations board order in favour of an employee of the Simpsons Sears Company. The union claimed that this employee had been fired for union activity. The court threw the case out on the technicality that the labour board had made a mistake in computing the compensation owing the fired employee, Bernard Solomon.

Even more recently another labour relations board decision involving the same company was cancelled out by the courts. Once again acting Chief Justice Gordon threw the case out on a technicality.

The labour board had issued an order for the holding of a vote among 300 employees of the Regina branch of the Simpsons Sears Company to see if they wanted a union. Five words were missing from the labour boards order to take the

vote. This technicality was seized upon by the judges. The labour board order was discarded.

These various pieces of legislation, passed by the peoples' elected representatives and thrown out by the boss courts, are not measures that seriously threaten the power of the capitalist class. Yet even these laws will not be tolerated by Canada's 50 'big shots' and their political and legal lackeys.

The election of a CCF government is certainly a big step in the direction of our ultimate goal, the socialist society. However, it is apparent from these Saskatchewan experiences that the election of CCF governments in the provinces or at Ottawa does not mean that we will be able to placidly legislate socialism into being. The Saskatchewan experience clearly reveals that Canadian capitalism will not surrender its power so easily.

The Workers Vanquard

(#9) August, 1956

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Toronto — Price 5 cents

Prices Rocket Profits Pile Up

THE COST OF LIVING is now, no doubt, the highest since the government has been indexing it. Figures released on July 4, covering May, showed a jump of 1.2 points, the highest monthly increase since Big Business' inflationary gouge of 1950-51 during the Korean War. The index stands at 117.8, just two-fifths of a point below the December 1951 record—and the Bureau of Statistics makes no bones about it—there is little doubt that the record will be surpassed this summer.

Biggest hoist was in the food sub-index—it jumped 3.2 points. Critics of the government's cost of living index have long maintained that the food sub-index is not given its proper weight in the general index and therefore the index as a whole doesn't show the real rise in living costs. The cost of shelter column rose a half a point to a record 132.6.

PROFITS—record high profits—are being squeezed out of the workers by Canadian corporations. Both corporation profits and dividends paid to stock and bond holders have been hitting new heights month after month.

Dividend payments piled up in the first seven months of this year to over \$396 million—14 per cent higher than the same period last

year. Corporation profits for the first quarter continued their skyrocketing climb to reach a total of \$728 million. While Big Business profits rose 28 per cent over the first quarter of 1955, its income tax liabilities rose only 23 per cent. This resulted in an increase in profits after taxes of \$310 million or 31 per cent.

So lush is the profit picture that it is getting difficult for well-heeled investors to know just where to sink their money—bonds are paying off at 4.3 cents on the dollar on the average, preferred stocks 4.7, and common stocks 4.6—the highest since 1954.

TAXES—the government has had to admit that its revenues from direct personal taxes alone are rising at an annual rate well in excess of 10 per cent over last year. Back on March 20 in his budget speech, Minister of Finance Harris forecast that he would put us through the wringer for a surplus of \$133 million. Now authorities admit that at the present rate of taxation the government this year will see government coffers overflowing with a surplus three times that amount.

The possibilities of a federal election shortly, have prompted rumors that the Liberals, in the old Liberal-Tory tradition, will attempt

● HANDS OFF EGYPT!

Secret chief-of-staff consultations, threatening bellicose statements by all the spokesmen and hangers-on of British, French and American imperialism, have met the Egyptian government's actions to nationalize the Suez Canal Company. Britain and France have slapped controls on all Egyptian assets within reach. Through freezing all her sterling balances, Britain has, in effect, placed an economic blockade on all Egyptian foreign trade.

After deploying their entire arsenal of economic and political blackmail, the imperialists charge the nationalization is "illegal." But the company is an Egyptian company—full compensation has been assured. Since Egypt wants the revenues from the canal, the expressed "fears" that she might block traffic are sheer hypocrisy.

Waving the big stick, US Secretary of State Dulles is holding the door open to Nasser to pull back from the actions "purporting to nationalize" the canal. Refused aid for the Aswan Dam, Nasser says the \$100 million annual income that went to foreign shareholders will permit Egypt to go it alone on the dam. He is under the gun of the land hungry, poverty stricken Egyptian peoples whose problems his government has proven unable to solve. Whether Nasser will stand up before the imperialist blackmail has yet to be seen—it is certain that in this action he has not only the solid support of the Egyptian peoples but of all the Arab and the colonial peoples in the world.

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Defend the Regina Manifesto!

There is nothing more certain than change. The 23 years that have passed since the CCF was founded, and what has become known as the Regina Manifesto was adopted, have been momentous ones.

The intervening years saw: the bankruptcy of the League of Nations, the Second World War, the development of the awesome destructive powers of the H Bomb, the rise of the Soviet Union to the second world power, victorious struggles of the long-oppressed colonial masses against imperialist domination, the falling back of capitalism to its last stronghold on the American continent, etc. Enormous changes, indeed!

Commencing with the 1950 CCF national convention, organized forces in the leadership of the party have been urging a "revision" a "bringing up to date of," a "redrafting of" the Regina Manifesto.

As National Chairman David Lewis put it to the delegates at the 1950 convention, the efforts of the leadership along this line are "not a rejection of the Manifesto, but an attempt to get a most modern and beneficial application of socialist principles." Now, at the July convention of the Saskatchewan CCF, Premier Douglas has joined in the call, with the comment that "The Manifesto was never thought of as an inspired document which laid down the truth for all time."

These statements have caused a grave disquiet in party ranks—and not so much for what they say. One of the causes of this uneasiness is the awareness, on the part of CCFers and large layers of the Canadian working people, that one of the changes of the past 23 years has been the change in the character of the CCF leadership and the policies that they have been publicly advocating.

This uneasiness has been all the greater for, up until now, those advocating the re-drafting of the Manifesto have failed to specify, or have been very vague as to what they wish to rip from, or what they wish to add to, the 1933 Manifesto.

Now Premier Douglas has pinpointed just what they mean, what they want. They want to tear out of the party program its socialist essence. They want to rip out the commitment of the party to: oppose "wars fought to make the world safe for capitalism," to "socialize the basic means of production," to "eliminate exploitation of one class by another," to "eradicate capitalism."

They want once and for all to legalize their betrayal of the party's program by tossing the Regina Manifesto out the window and by adopting a new one from which they can, without further embarrassments, continue on in their liberal-reformist course.

The socialist aspects of the Manifesto may not win votes at this juncture but the socialists will fight to retain these hard fought ideological positions. In them is contained the dearly paid experience of the past. These ideas are the only means of preparing for a new tremendous surge forward with the historical tide now running through the rest of the world and certain to strike against the shores of capitalist America.

LEAGUE & VANGUARD TOUR CROSS-CANADA

Reports, excellent ones, are coming in of the cross-Canada tour that the editor of *The Workers Vanguard*, Jim Mitchell, and the



Stanton

chairman of The Socialist Educational League, George Stanton, pushed off on last month.

They received a fine reception at the Soo. Dozens of new subscribers to the *Vanguard* were gained. Leading unionists picked out important books and pamphlets to aid them in their activities from the stock of socialist literature that our campaigners have with them. One of our long-time supporters gave a whopping donation to help them meet expenses. All told, a week was spent in the Soo-Sudbury area, talking socialism, the *Vanguard* and the SEL to thinking LPPers, trade unionists and CCFers.



Mitchell

In Sudbury they report they met a difficult situation. "The fact that we call for the election of CCF governments in Ottawa and the provinces proved to be a barrier between us and Sudbury miners. The miners equate the CCF with the Steelworkers Union which, in an orgy of redbaiting over the past several years, has been raiding their union, Mine Mill. We had to explain over and over again that the leadership is not the CCF,

how the SEL is fighting for a socialist, anti-redbaiting CCF policy. From an area that once elected a CCF MLA, Sudbury has become an area almost without a CCF club. As one miner put it—'All they had to offer last election was a candidate with one plank. He went around saying what a good anti-communist he was.' What is interesting is that the Independent Farm Labour group being organized is a growing concern."

Good contacts were made in the Kirkland Lake-Timmins area and a scattering of subs were picked up in the vast wilds between those points and Fort William-Port Arthur. Plans for a public meeting in the twin cities had to be postponed until the return trip due to workers from Canada Car and other plants being out of town on holidays. They report big layoffs at the Lakehead in the shipyards and Can-Car.

It looks certain that Mitchell and Stanton will be in Winnipeg in good time for the national CCF convention August 1, 2, 3 where they intend to appeal theirs and other socialists' expulsions from the Ontario section last year. A public meeting that has been slated will be addressed to the delegates and others interested in the fight for a socialist CCF. Discussions will be held on how to make the *Vanguard* more effective and the possibilities of setting up other socialist educational leagues.

As Stanton and Mitchell move West, back here in the East a real base is being put under the *Vanguard* through door to door subscription work by supporters and friends in Oshawa and Toronto.

"SUPER DEMOCRATS" LIFT SEL LEAFLETS

By PAUL MacPHERSON

Despite the fact that the Winnipeg CCF Convention was a serious blow to all Canadian socialists, it still had its amusing spots which also contain a good lesson for socialists in the CCF.

One of these amusing incidents was called the "Battle of the Brief Cases" by the press. Some members of the Socialist Educational League wanted to appeal their expulsions from the Ontario section to the national convention. Their statement asked the assembled delegates for the right to be heard by the convention. The SEL members placed their appeals in the convention kits of each delegate and left.

Shortly after, along comes one of those super democratic socialists, Lorne Ingle by name. He goes through the kits of each delegate while the delegates are out at lunch and removes the statements.

This amusing picture of the national secretary of the CCF scampering around the convention hall collecting leaflets, to prevent the delegates from reading what the SEL has to say, is typical of many of the actions of those people who are always talking about freedom of expression, democracy, etc.

A similar incident happened when the SEL decided to rent a labour hall to hold a meeting to present its views on the problems confronting the convention.

The hall was rented and paid for by the League. The purpose of the meeting was clearly explained to the labour officials when the hall was rented. Then the meeting was advertised in the press.

However, when the SEL speakers arrived at the hall on the night of the meeting, they were told by the janitor that they could not have the hall. No explanation was given for this action.

That's just another recent ex-

ample of how these super democrats work. No socialist should have any illusions about these people. Whenever you meet them judge them by their actions and not by their beautiful phrases.

One cannot help being struck by the difference in the methods of the CCF leadership in dealing with its opponents of the left and right within the party.

A good example of how they deal with opposition on the left was the case of the expulsion of the 14 left wingers from the Ontario Section. They were driven out of the party in an orgy of red baiting, distortion and lies. In sharp contrast to this, let's examine how the leadership dealt with the opportunist Ross Thatcher.

At the recent Winnipeg convention prominent CCF leaders were quizzed by reporters on the question of Ross Thatcher.

M. J. Coldwell called Thatcher an opportunist, said he was glad Thatcher had left and that Thatcher had been a source of constant embarrassment to the CCF. Tommy Douglas said that Thatcher had become less and less sympathetic with the party program—if he ever was sympathetic with it.

The Hon. Russ Brown, Saskatchewan CCF provincial secretary, said that Thatcher never was a socialist and that his joining the party was strictly opportunism.

All these facts about Thatcher, his support of free enterprise, his opportunism, his open disregard of, and opposition to, the party program have been known for some years by all political people.

Despite these well known facts this man was never expelled from the party or even seriously taken to task by the CCF leadership. Instead he resigned from the CCF at his convenience and went over to

the Liberal party.

Why did the CCF leadership have so much tolerance for Thatcher and, in sharp contrast, so much intolerance of left wingers?

The Winnipeg convention decisively answers this question. At this convention the CCF leadership adopted the main plank of Thatcher's program—support of the free enterprise system.

The difference between Thatcher and the right wing leadership was not a fundamental difference, rather it was only of degree and time.

Thatcher moved a little too quickly along the same road that the CCF leadership was travelling, the road away from the socialist program. The Winnipeg Manifesto is as much a product of Ross Thatcher as it is a product of David Lewis and the other right wingers.

Tory MP John Hamilton recognized this when, on August 4 in the House of Commons, he asked Mr. St. Laurent if Ross Thatcher could now go back to the CCF if he so wished.



Officials at a dance held in Toronto's Masonic Temple showed the door to these two girls, Therese and Cadie Desjardins from Rimouski, Quebec. The reason? They were conversing in French and the official policy is English only.

Their Real Target



Val

Vol. 1, No. 10, September 1956

Egypt Runs Own Canal Imperialists Paralyzed

By VIRGINIA WILSON

The imperialist drive to foist continued exploitation on the Egyptian people has been described by President Nasser as, "International thuggery, provocation and threats." The Suez crisis has clearly revealed the dilemma into which the awakening colonial peoples have driven their would-be masters.

Pushed back again and again by blows from the Asian and African masses and terrified by their long struggle with Cypriot and Algerian freedom fighters, Britain and France at first threatened to force Egypt into submission rather than endanger their already waning oil interests by losing control of the Suez.

The Arab world was quick to express solidarity with Egypt. Jordan's chief of staff, Major-General, as a spokesman for Arab feeling, stated: "The Arabs have reached a point at which they say, 'Let us prove now our right to live as free people or go down fighting for it.'" At the same time the imperialists' schemes to rob Egypt of her sovereign rights by so-called "international control" met with firm opposition from the millions of India, Ceylon, the Soviet Union, and China. Most crushing of all for cornered British and French exploiters, the US threw cold water on their plans for answering Egypt with violence. Grudgingly the matter has been referred to the UN.

Despite deliberate misrepresentation, the issue is a clear and simple one. Egypt, as an independent nation, has nationalized a formerly British owned canal on her own territory. It is indisputable that as a sovereign state she had every right to do so.

What charge is to be laid against Egypt on the floor of the UN? Nasser, the imperialists allege, has destroyed the international character of the canal by nationalization, and has thus broken the Constantinople convention of 1858. (This treaty ensures all user nations that the waterway will always be open to international shipping.)

The whole issue is a mere smoke-screen fabricated to create the illusion that, in breaking her contract with the privately owned Suez Canal Company, Egypt also broke the international treaty. The two questions are completely separate—whether the waterway is nationalized or privately owned has nothing to do with the promise of free use of the canal. Egypt has agreed

to keep the canal open to world shipping and is presently proving her words by concrete action.

The imperialists have followed provocation with provocation. In an effort to prove that Egypt cannot run the canal—deliberately bribing its pilots with three years pay in order to pull them off the job—the Suez Canal Company hoped to leave Egypt without the skilled help to carry on. Then, as Egypt struggled against a shortage of pilots, the ex-owners sent an increased number of ships through the canal expecting to block shipping and justify their threat of force.

Most flagrant of all, the imperial-



NASSER

ists came up with a plan for a "canal users' association." By this provocative act the imperialists aimed to literally take over the Suez by collecting dues, employing pilots, and generally performing all the functions of the newly nationalized company. Egypt was to receive a small return for allowing this organization to force its way through her territory.

Despite all this the canal is still open to international traffic and continues in efficient operation.

Many altruistic words have been uttered on behalf of international control. It is wrong, the imperialists say, for one nation to selfishly operate an international waterway.

(Continued on page 2)

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SOCREDS SWEEP BC PROVINCE LIBERALS AND TORIES FINISHED

Vancouver—Social Credit has been swept back into office in Victoria in a veritable landslide. It won 11 more seats to total 39 out of the 52 in the house and scored almost 46 per cent of the total

vote—an increase of almost 8 per cent won from all parties. Social Credit gains were marked up primarily at the expense of the two old-line boss parties. The Liberals, running an entire slate of 52, were wiped off the mainland and only managed to hold two seats on the island. The Progressive Conservative machine's 22 candidates were all defeated. This is the first house since party politics were introduced in BC, and which the Tories dominated for years, where they will have no representatives. Their vote dropped to a mere 3 per cent of the total.

The CCF, the official opposition in the last house, retains this position but dropped four of its 14 seats. It polled 28.7 per cent of the vote—a 2 per cent drop from its 1953 vote. The Socreds invaded the CCF bastion of Vancouver East to defeat party leader Harold Thayer. As we go to press the CCF seats in Atlin and Grand Forks are in the balance.

The Socreds, headed up by W. A. C. Bennett, who in the midst of the campaign sharply dissociated himself from the funny money theories of the Social Credit movement, rode into power under the demagogic banners "Vote Progress—Not Politics," "Support a Government That Gets Things Done," and on the crest of the extensive economic boom that this province is experiencing. The Big Money was on the side of Bennett. Although his government faced serious charges of corruption, according to many SC candidates God also was on his side. To clinch matters they promised a \$25 bonus to all home owners.

In this election in BC the right wing of the CCF carried out a test tube experiment with the policy that it imposed on the movement at the Winnipeg Convention in early August. The BC leadership, armed with the new program, set its sights on achieving office in

this election. For more than a score of years the party polling as high as 35 per cent of the vote has been the opposition. Previous defeats they ascribed in part to the "antics" of the Left and in part to "outmoded" programmatic demands flowing out of the Regina Manifesto.

Now everything was set for victory. No troublesome or embarrassing incidents provoked by leftists took place. The program was completely the program of the right wing. In keeping with their concept that the socialist program is not a series of anti-capitalist demands but an ethical and moral concept, Harold Winch, MP, challenged the SC on its own ground with the comment: "The CCF doesn't come to you with a Bible in one hand and \$28 in the other. We come to you with Christianity in our hearts and Christian principles in our program."

Under the innocuous slogan

"Let's Clean House" and the archaic symbol of the broom, the right wing outlined its program. Jabbing at Bennett's domination of his party and the house, they came out boldly in support of democracy. They promised freedom from corruption and graft. Taking another stab at this they promised to eliminate back door timber deals through forest management by the Forest Service. And then, knowing that the issue of hydro power was a safe one since the Liberals have had to intercede against SC giveaways, they committed the movement to public power at cost.

To really set the record straight in everyone's mind they proclaimed through the highways and byways of the province the dumping of the Regina Manifesto's program of the eradication of capitalism and the new program for co-existence of public and private enterprise. In the pre-election issue of CCF News they shamelessly published an editorial from the United Auto Worker which cynically made their

(Continued on page 2)

FUNDS FOR VANGUARD SET \$1500 OBJECTIVE

By JAMES MITCHELL, Editor
What does the VANGUARD mean to you?

In my tour across Canada I met many people to whom it means a great deal. In one town we met a woman, who knew all about the VANGUARD. A friend who bought the paper had shown it to her, and she readily subscribed also. This person, it turned out, had shown many others the single copy of the paper she received—one was an elderly blind woman whom she visits each month to read the entire paper to.

Or take Mr. and Mrs. Y---, old timers in the struggle for a socialist Canada. He reads through the paper thoroughly then it goes on its way with special notations to certain persons. Mrs. Y--- told me that their single copy passes through the hands of about 30 people in the community, from fellows in the mill to the school teacher, arriving back for her to read, much the worse for wear, by the time the next month's issue has arrived.

We didn't know these subscribers until the tour. They were just names on a list to be mailed to each month. But what a tribute to the power of the printed word and to the socialist ideas of the VANGUARD.

When we launched the Vanguard just 10 issues ago several who thought they were in the know told us that we would never be able to finance more than two or three issues. We thought otherwise and have been proven right.

But now we need your help to carry the paper forward. Mrs. Y--- with her 30 readers, when I came to pull myself away, asked me if it would be possible to get a small bundle at a reduced rate for subscription promotional purposes. Of course she must have them—we must see to that—and at a reduced rate too, for I saw the circumstances under which she and her

husband are forced to live.

At a reduced rate—why at the full rate, and even double that, the Vanguard is a losing proposition financial-wise. We could double the subscription rate as some readers have suggested but it wouldn't solve the cost of publishing the Vanguard. Besides it might stand in the way of some uninitiated worker investigating its contents.

We need money to carry on the good work which our first 10 issues promise for the future. We need your money because there is no one else to whom we can appeal.

We figure we require a minimum of \$1,500 to carry us forward—that is not much if a considerable number participate. We need some of it right away and all of it by Dec. 1st. This gives you lots of time to adjust your budget and salt away some each week.

We feel that there has not been such a time as now in many years when those who work in the publishing of the Vanguard should be free from petty financial worries. Since the revelations coming out of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union there has been an intellectual turmoil in the Labor Progressive Party, and peripheral bodies, the like of which never existed before. The shameless dumping of socialist principles by the Coldwell-Lewis leadership of the CCF in the face of the gigantic changes in the relationship of class forces on a world scale has awakened many CCFers to a heightened interest in socialist ideas.

The Vanguard can play an important role in this great debate. It can reach many workers today that it could not get a hearing from 10 months ago. It can save many workers for socialism. It can play a decisive role in the regroupment of forces for a socialist Canada.

It depends on you. Help us at once! Send your contributions to THE VANGUARD, 569 Yonge St., Toronto 5, Ont.

SEL Forum — First of Fall Series

"What Happened At Winnipeg" was the topic of the Socialist Educational League's September forum—the first of the second annual series. The SEL was founded and the monthly forums started last year because a number

of socialists in the Toronto area felt it essential that there be public meetings at which socialist ideas were discussed. At one time the CCF clubs served this purpose, but the present apathy of the membership, and the expulsions of left wingers by the leadership has killed almost all political discussion.

Almost 40 people heard Jim Mitchell, editor of the Vanguard, talk on the Winnipeg CCF convention which he attended and reported on in the last issue of this paper.

The speaker dealt at some length with the details of the convention. "The delegates didn't see the new draft statement until they walked into the convention on the opening morning," he said. "The few socialists at the convention were completely unprepared."

He went into a detailed analysis

of the forces acting on the CCF leadership that caused them to formalize anti-socialist positions they have been taking for years.

He then raised the question of the attitude of socialists to this party, stating that "Socialists have never had any illusions that the CCF was a socialist party. This was not why we supported it. We support it because it is a class alternative to the boss parties—it is the labour party. It is the party that the most advanced workers support. Our support should be even more critical than before, but still support nonetheless."

In the discussion period, a member of the audience stated that he no longer supported the CCF. The whole trend to the right in the last period has made this long-time member walk away in disgust. He had allowed his membership to ex-

pire and was now active only in his union.

Another member of the audience replied to this. He stated that he agreed with the previous speaker's comments on the condition of the CCF but he felt that in the future, as the capitalist crisis deepens, the workers will turn to the CCF. "For that reason we must remain in the CCF to provide socialist answers when the workers move towards it," he stated.

The chairman summed up the discussion by stating that "Less and less can workers have any illusions about what the CCF is." The Regina Manifesto was no longer there to foster misconceptions.

"It also," he continued, "makes it more and more difficult to express socialist ideas within the CCF. To the extent that this forces the issue, other vehicles must be created to carry on socialist educational work. Socialists in the Toronto area should join the SEL."

#11-Oct. 1956

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23

Toronto — Price 5 cents

No Canadian Soldiers For Egyptian "Korea"

By ROSS DOWSON

Nov. 3—The Canadian government, through Foreign Affairs Minister Pearson, has intervened in what Anthony Eden has called a police action in "Egypt like Korea" with a proposal that the United Nations send in a military force. Canada's contribution, officials estimate, would be an infantry battalion — about 900 soldiers.

This proposal to send Canadian, along with other UN-badged troops, into the Middle East, despite all claims to the contrary, is designed to: (1) stall for time to save the Tory Eden government, tottering under the opposition of the British people, by giving it the opportunity to carry out military assaults that they hope will settle accounts quickly, (2) to realize through the offices of the United Nations what the British and French imperialist governments have wanted all along — control again of the vital Suez Canal and immediate areas, (3) to refurbish the already tarnished reputation of the United Nations which has been seriously undermined by the British and French veto and complete by-passing of the UN when it did not suit their purpose, (4) to correct what important sections of the international capitalist class think was a hasty and ill-advised action on the part of Eden and Mollet—which far from strengthening imperialist control in the ticklish Middle East, threatens to whip up the Arab masses in a vast anti-imperialist conflagration which could bring the tottering economies of the European imperialists crashing down.

US State Department head, John Foster Dulles, in his disappointment and disagreement with the French and British over their tactical handling of the situation, has graciously commented that the Israeli government has been used as a decoy. The Israeli government formally launched the struggle against Egypt. Britain and France have justified their intervention as a move to uphold international law and to "preserve the peace." Dulles has suggested that Israel will get a payoff later—perhaps the Jordanian bulge.

Whether such a deal has been made or not it is apparent that the Israeli government launched its attack on Egypt, which is heading up the pan-Arab anti-imperialist struggle, with the complete agreement of the British and French imperialists and is acting as a running dog for imperialism.

The Cairo radio has broadcast a resolution of the International Federation of Arab workers calling upon Arab workers throughout the Middle East to destroy all foreign bases that could be used against Egypt. Demonstrations demanding the destruction of British bases in Libya have taken place in Benghazi. British banks, barracks and oil facilities have been bombed. British information offices in Dacca and elsewhere have been fired. Oil from Iraq to the Mediterranean has been cut off by the bombing of pipelines in North Syria. The Qatar oil pipelines on the Persian Gulf are said to be blown up.

The British Labour Party has commenced a campaign that is designed to bring the Eden government down, according to Hugh

Gaitskill, through the use of "every constitutional means." Anti-war feelings are running so high and demonstrations of workers and students of such a scope are taking place, as to cause the National Council of Labour, which represents the Labour Party Trade Union Council and the Co-operative Movement, to appeal to the workers to stay on their jobs and not walk out in any protests against the government's actions. Without some quick smashing blow such as re-occupation of the Suez canal zone it seems probable that the Eden government will come down.

Through its use of the veto on the Security Council and its rejection of the UN Assembly resolution calling for a cease fire, Britain has further compromised and exposed the UN as an instrument of the Big Powers' politics. Defenders of the British action have countered by pointing out how the US carried out its war on Korea without UN authority, and overthrew the government of Guatemala, refusing to subject this action to Security Council scrutiny. But the US is trying to save the face of the UN. It sees some further use for it as a sounding board, particularly at this time for hypocritical expressions of sympathy for the peoples of Eastern Europe.

Pearson's proposal for UN intervention in the Middle East has met with acclaim from the US State Department and also from the British and French governments who would be prepared, failing a quick success in direct military assault on Egypt, to use such a proposition as a secondary line of action.

The most powerful blows against!

OTTAWA FIGHTING INFLATION AT EXPENSE OF THE WORKERS

Ottawa is seriously worried about the inflationary pressures that are building up in the economy. As usual this Big Business government has been unable to find any practical measures that could be taken other than to make things tougher for the working people of Canada.

In the past month the government's Bank of Canada representatives have held a series of very private and informal discussions on the problem, with stock exchange presidents, with deputies from the profit drunk financial corporations, and with representatives of Canada's most opulent merchant princes. Exactly what took place at these closeted sessions is unknown but it is generally conceded that it was suggested that it should be made increasingly difficult for the working people to buy goods on credit.

Bank Governor James Coyne has stated that total consumer credit has currently reached almost the

an all-out imperialist war against the freedom struggle of the peoples in the Middle East are being struck by the working people of Great Britain. The Canadian people can aid in this struggle by refusing to support in any way the Pearson proposal to commit Canadian troops to the Middle East.

No more Koreas! Solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle in the Middle East! Defend the right of Egypt to national ownership of the Suez! For a referendum of the Canadian people on the commitment of Canadian troops in the Middle East! Urge the CCF MP's to vigorously oppose any and all moves to develop a Korea in the Middle East which could lead to an H-Bomb World War III.

2½ billion dollar mark. Refusing to pin a danger-point level on that figure he added, "I don't think it desirable to have a sizeable increase, if any, in that amount." Mr. Coyne is reported to have left the impression that if some voluntary form of restraint of consumer credit is not successful then it is possible that the next budget might fix the percentage of down payment and limit the period of instalments.

The government didn't bother to consult the smaller merchants and loan sharks. Through government manipulation of the Canadian bank rate they are experiencing difficulty in obtaining bank loans to underwrite their credit programs. Many small merchants are being driven out of the credit sales business. Small loan companies were revealed in the Commons this summer to be already charging, in some cases, what amounted to 85 per cent per annum

(Continued on page 4)

MASS REVOLT HITS HUNGARY

By JEAN LaPLANTE

Nov. 1—In one week of cataclysmic struggle, the students, the workers, the soldiers of Hungary, established themselves as the most powerful force in their country. Confronted by a vast network of secret police and a heavily armed Russian occupation force with countless reserves at its disposal, they launched a struggle in which they demonstrated incomparable revolutionary initiative and ingenuity and inspired the world with their heroism.

Within a week of bloody conflict, the entire country rallied to the insurrection. The Kremlin's satellite Communist Party government, its occupational forces and the reserves of heavy armour that it threw against the Hungarian workers, retained only a tenuous hold on the city of Budapest. The masses everywhere rallied to the insurrection—an insurrection which the harrassed Premier Nagy has now been compelled to characterize as "a democratic movement which has swept our whole nation in order to secure our independence which is the only basis of a socialist democracy."

In the unfolding of the conflict there arose new organs of workers', soldiers' and farmers' power, to give direction to the struggle and through which the demands of the masses found voice.

Hungarian troops distributed leaflets proclaiming the creation of revolutionary committees. The demands of a Provisional Revolutionary Hungarian Government and National Defence Committee were broadcast by radio stations from cities in the hands of the revolutionists. Workers on general strike in large areas of the country told newsmen that their actions were being directed by a Central Workers' Committee.

The harrassed Premier Nagy has been compelled to recognize these bodies and to state that he "begs for their support." Surrounded by hostility and by a refusal on the part of many rebels to lay down

(Continued on page 3)

KREMLIN DOOMED

An Editorial

For over three decades the rule of a privileged bureaucracy that grew up on Soviet society was maintained through the violent destruction of the institutions of worker's democracy; the Bolshevik party, the Soviets and the trade unions. Now the Russian revolution is experiencing a rebirth. The masses within the Soviet orbit are preparing to overthrow the bureaucratic usurpers.

The Hungarian uprising is a milestone on the road to the restoration of socialist democracy and the forward march to a socialist society. But the first major sign that a gigantic mass force was coming to life within the Soviet orbit was the East German general strike on June 17, 1953. It was followed up by the dramatic strike at Vorkuta where 250,000 slave labourers in the Kremlin's concentration camps downed tools, and by other uprisings in Siberian prison camps.

The general strike and uprising of the Poznan workers last June again shook the Soviet bureaucracy to its foundations. The carefully prepared trials turned into a political forum in which the crimes of the bureaucratic caste were exposed. Sections of the Polish bureaucracy itself revealed a susceptibility to mass pressure which compelled them to stand up to Khrushchev's bellicose threats and force the Kremlin to step down.

Now, in Hungary, the Communist Party regime, after calling in Soviet troops, has been compelled to retreat heading before the revolutionary power of the masses.

The crisis within the Soviet bureaucracy is deep and irreversible. The basis for it was laid down by the colossal post-war expansion of Soviet economy, thanks to the planned economy laid down by the revolution of 1917, and by the expansion of the Soviet orbit following World War II.

Economy Decisive

From the weakness of Czarist Russia, the nationalized property relations brought Soviet victory in World War II against the full weight of German imperialism. The Soviet Union has since emerged as the second power in the world . . . promising to surpass in the next decade the advanced capitalist economy of the United States.

The tremendous victory achieved over German imperialism, achieved despite Stalin's crimes, served to inspire the Soviet working class—already grown in size and skills to second in world importance—with new self confidence. The rising tide of colonial revolutions that have plagued the imperialist powers since the close of the war, and the incapacity of imperialism to rebuild European capitalism as a powerful military threat to the USSR, took away from the bureaucracy the specter of invasion which it had used for decades as a means of diverting attention from itself and securing sullen submission to its dictatorial rule.

Even prior to Stalin's death the main outline of this crisis was clearly visible. With Stalin's death, in order to gain time to consolidate their shaky regime, his heirs felt forced to grant actual concessions to the masses and to promise more. These concessions, however, served to

(Continued on page 3)



(Found in Dec. 1956) (SEL)

314 Wellesley Street East,

Dear Neighbour:

The future belongs to the youth! A commonplace statement but nonetheless a true one. The Board of Education perhaps more than any other municipal institution has to do with the youth. It is its responsibility to see that our youth obtain the best possible education; one that will prepare them to meet whatever problems will confront them in later years.

Unfortunately the overwhelming majority of the members of the Board look upon their office as merely a step upward to higher office in the political machines of the two old line parties. The bulk of them have little understanding of educational matters and little sympathy for the problems of teachers, parents or pupils; particularly when the problem imperils their political future as Liberal or Tory representatives of the vested interests in the community.

Last year Toronto was threatened by a strike of all secondary school teachers. For three years the Secondary School Teachers Federation had been attempting to get the Board to restore to them their own salary schedule and independent bargaining rights. Quite moderate demands, but how did the Board act? The Board conducted itself in the same arrogant way that the most vicious anti-labor employers treat the unions of the workers.

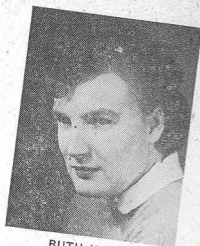
The Board shoved the matter into the hands of a sub-committee so that it would not become property of the Board itself and thus become public property. The teachers, not wishing to strike, in order to get a hearing from the highhanded Board, decided to threaten to withdraw from supervising extra curricular activities during after-school hours. The students quite correctly expressed sympathy for their teachers. Then Board officials barred the Student Councils from further access to school facilities and even went so far as to suspend the usual school assemblies. I am sure you do not agree with such arrogant actions by the Board in its relations with the pupils and the teachers. But that is what happens when persons who do not represent the working people get elected.

The present Board operates on the basis that its concern stops and starts with the schools. But what good the schools do can easily be undone by conditions that confront the students outside of school. When the City Council lifted rent controls this Fall it created conditions detrimental to our students' development. Thousands of pupils have been thrust into more crowded living quarters. Due to higher rents their parents have less to spend on necessary nourishing foods. In my opinion such questions as housing and rent controls are of the utmost importance to the Board of Education. In this case, trustees really concerned about education would have gone on deputation to the City Council in support of the campaign for maintenance of controls.

If elected I will do all in my power to represent you. While only 25 years of age I have a good record of participation in the struggle to put humanity first. I was for two years a school teacher and member of the Ontario Public School Teachers Federation. I am a member of the Tenant and Ratepayers Association which led the campaign for maintenance of Rent controls. I was an organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and have been a member of the CCF for six years. My campaign for Ward 2 School Trustee is being sponsored by the Rosedale CCF Youth. I am married and live at 314 Wellesley Street East in your ward. Any help that you can offer will be gratefully accepted.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth Houle



RUTH HOULE

VOTE HOULE VOTE LABOR

BOARD OF EDUCATION WARD 2

- For increased provincial and federal grants to education to ease the rising costs from the shoulders of the small homeowners. For the return of provincial aid in the building of what the Tory Minister of Education has falsely called "frills"—gymnasiums, auditoriums, home economics classes, etc.
- For no lowering in teachers' qualifications. Retain those teachers we have, attract former teachers back, and win new people to the profession, by making teaching more attractive. Eliminate all forms of discrimination against women teachers, give consideration for extra-curricular work, provide secretarial aid, better educational facilities, make the classes smaller.
- Representation by population on the Metropolitan Board of Education. Ward 2 with many times the number of electors of Ward 3, a businessman's ward, has now only the same representation.
- Free milk for all public school children. Provide cafeteria facilities for public schools and those high schools that do not have them.
- For the withdrawal of anti-democratic bans against any group of citizens who wish to use the public's school properties.
- Encourage parent's organizations, student's councils in discussion and preparation of school curriculum. For closer contact between school and home.

PANEL ON MIDDLE EAST WAR SEL HOSTS TO WARM DEBATE

The discussion at the November forum of the Socialist Educational League was long and intense. A panel of three speakers and a chairman-moderator introduced the audience to a debate on the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In order to provide a broad discussion the League invited a representative of the Hashomer Hatzair, a left Zionist organization; an Arab student who is a graduate in Philosophy and Political Science of the University of Beirut; and a Toronto socialist who has participated in previous forums.

After the panel had warmed up and given the audience a chance to hear the contending viewpoints, the chairman threw the floor open to allow the audience to ask direct questions of the panel members. The meeting ran overtime with all 60 people in the hall insistent on carrying on.

There is an old argument that workers are not interested in attending discussions of political events — the "you can't compete with the TV set" idea. The SEL was formed to help create workers' political discussions and provide the place for them, which is so lacking in the CCF and other working class organizations.

This panel on the Middle East was the most recent of a 13-month series of classes and forums which

the League has sponsored. From its inception the League has carried regular weekly classes. During the winter of 1955-56 it held monthly forums at a central union hall. The attendance at both classes and forums has built up until, in the case of the forums, the hall is running out of seating space.

A brief review of this fall's series will show you why. The first forum heard Vanguard's editor give a first hand report of the Winnipeg CCF Convention. The speaker at the next one was Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers' Party candidate for US Vice-President, who broke into her election tour schedule to give Toronto workers a run down on the issues south of the border.

When the revolution broke out in Hungary, the League booked the hall for an extra Sunday in order to hold a special forum where Ross Dowson spoke and the discussion helped to clarify the issue as one of workers' democracy in Eastern Europe. Then came the Arab-Israeli forum.

The League is competing successfully with the TV set. If you are interested in sitting in on such a forum—remember—first Sunday every month, 32 Isabella St., Toronto, 8 p.m. For information as to topics of either the forums or the regular weekly classes, phone WA. 3-5174.

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SUBSCRIBE FOR A FRIEND
SUBSCRIBE NOW !!

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569 YONGE STREET

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**50¢ for 12 issues, \$1.00 buys your sub and
one for a friend**

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Over the Top

For the second time VANGUARD has completed a successful financial campaign. The objective this year was \$1,500—50 percent higher than last time. The drive closed with a total of \$1,554 received and \$85 in assured pledges. This totals to \$1,639—well over the objective.

With the help of the Socialist Educational League, and its friends and supporters, over \$1,200 of the total was accounted for in the Toronto area. Friends all across the country—and up the BC coast—sent in the rest along with their warm notes of support.

This provides a good solid lump to help finance Vanguard in 1957. What with the steady flow of contributions from readers and supporters that goes on all year long, and the money we get from subscriptions, 1957 looks financially secure.

And this is important! It frees us somewhat from worrying about HOW to publish and allows us to concentrate more on what to publish. This issue of VANGUARD stands as an example. Anyone who is familiar with the paper knows

that it is a four-page monthly. This issue has a special insert making it six pages.

Many times in the past we have been impressed with the absolute necessity for more space to do justice to the political questions of the day. This need will never be fully satisfied until we are a daily, but—for the first time—we are expanding an issue in order to free our writers to do a better job of presenting you with facts and analysis.

The editorial committee feels too that the success of the campaign is an indication of our readers' appreciation of the way we are doing our job of turning out an honest and militant workers' paper.

Your continued support — your dollars and the subscriptions you send in—will be the guarantee for the future as it has been in the past. Vanguard says thank you for your support to date and thanks in advance for your continuing help. The October-November 1956 financial campaign was another step in the process of building a workers' paper.

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#14-Jan 1957

CELEBRATE

MAY DAY

SUN. APR. 28, 1957

8.15 P.M.

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auspices
SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

If you haven't already done so,
join our series of classes on -

BASIC MARXIST PHILOSOPHY

held every Friday night, 8.15 PM at 569 Yonge St.

#17 Apr 1957

Negroes Combat Race Terror in South Threaten to March Against Washington

By LOU MARSH

Plans for a nation-wide march on Washington by thousands of Negroes and whites if Eisenhower continues his refusal to speak out against the reign of terror in the south, have received wide support. Ninety-seven southern Negro leaders from 10 southern states wired President Eisenhower last month stating they would organize a mass march on Washington if he maintains his silence about the white supremacists' bombings and shootings. The wire said in part, "If you, our President, cannot come South to relieve our harassed people, we shall have to lead our people to you in the capital, to call the nation's attention to the violence and organized terror directed toward men, women and children."

The demand was immediately picked up by the Negro press. The Baltimore Afro-American in a red-banner headline 2½ inches high blazoned "WE'LL MARCH" across its eight columns. The Pittsburgh Courier's front page proclaimed: "Negro Leaders Tell Ike: 'COME SOUTH OR WE'LL MARCH ON WASHINGTON!'" The New York Amsterdam News ran as its major story "Speak up Ike—M. L. King Bus Boycott Leader Ready To Lead March on Washington."

IKE HOLIDAYS

Shortly after he received this wire, Eisenhower stated at a press conference that he could not go south to speak against racist violence because of his crowded daily agenda. He then took a two-week golfing and hunting vacation in Georgia. Washington's indifference to the heroic Southern Negroes, whose very lives are in danger throughout the Dixie Terror Belt,

is being interpreted by racist mobsters as consent.

Eisenhower's refusal was blasted by Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, whose Birmingham home was dynamited, as giving "untold aid and

comfort to the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council." Vice-President Nixon was also sent a wire asking him to make a report on the south similar to the one he made on Hungary.

Meanwhile the struggle for Negro rights is continuing on the local scene. In Montgomery, where the recent wave of struggle began in a bus boycott, their fighting

see NEGRO STRUGGLE—p. 2

Nationalization of Railways Demanded by Farm Union Council

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The Workers Vanquard

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23

Toronto—Price 5 cents

CCF ENDORSED BY ONT. LABOR

By ROSS DOWSON

Amidst cheers, exploding balloons and firecrackers, thunderous applause, and papers fluttering through the air, the newly organized Ontario Federation of Labor endorsed the CCF as its political arm.

This was the climax of the convention held in Toronto in the last

week of March which also saw the final unification of the old Ontario Federation of Labor (CIO-CCL) and the Ontario Provincial Federation of Labor (AFL-TLC). The convention knit together 500,000 Ontario workers, half the strength of organized labor in the country.

The 700 delegates were almost unanimous in their rapid passage of the political action resolution presented by the convention committee—a substitute for nine other resolutions from various affiliated bodies. The resolution committed the convention to "full support of the CCF and, particularly its candidates in the forthcoming 1957 Federal Election."

The only expression of opposition came from a delegate who tried to popularize that antediluvian myth of non-party politics, of endorsing the "individual" politician who would "look after labor." The day previous to the actual unification, the delegates at the last session of the old Ontario Provincial Federation of Labor heard the retiring president, A. F. MacArthur, make a final appeal to keep out of politics.

But the delegates had long since seen through the hollowness of these arguments. They understood that labor has to fight with both arms, not only against the individual employer but against the employers organized as a class in the Liberal, Tory and Social Credit parties and in state power; that labor has to have a party of its own it can mobilize its forces behind and place into power; and that the CCF, no matter what criticisms can be made of it, is the only major party that can in any way claim to represent the interests of the Canadian workers.

The endorsement of the CCF by the united convention was pretty much a foregone conclusion. It was the climax of a series of actions. Only a week previous the Toronto and District Labor Council, representing 110,000 workers and the Hamilton Labor Council, representing another 30,000 workers, came out in firm support of the CCF.

A day prior to the unification convention, the old Ontario Federation of Labor's 400 delegates reaffirmed the position of CCF support that the federation has taken since its inception. At the same time the DeHavilland local of the UAW not only endorsed the CCF but actually affiliated to it—the first UAW local to take such action.

But everyone knows that endorsement of the CCF and the swinging of the mighty electoral strength of the union ranks behind its candidates are two different matters. After all, the CCF had been endorsed by the old Canadian Congress of Labor since 1943. There were always powerful CCF forces in the old Trades and Labor Congress. A motion that the last OPFL convention endorse the CCF was only defeated by a snap motion to table. If the top CCF brass had not enforced a keep-silent policy on this question at last year's united Canadian Labor Congress there is little doubt that endorsement of the CCF would have carried the day.

But despite this influence in the top and secondary layers of the trade union leadership the CCF has continued to decline in electoral support. Many militants have expressed dissatisfaction with the middle class character of the party's leadership, its lack of dynamism, its identity with an important part of the trade union bureaucracy, its disdain for the workers. The CCF leadership's flouting of the party's convention policy in order to support German Rearmament, the high handed dumping of the socialist Regina

see ONT. LABOR—p. 4

British Tories Shaken As Workers Move Left

England's Tory government is staggering from crisis to crisis. What threatened to develop into a general strike that could have brought the Macmillan government down has been halted. But it is only a breathing spell.

On March 16 over 200,000 shipyard workers struck 70 yards around Britain. They were joined in short order by a million engineers, mainly in Scotland and Northern England and by another half million workers from plants in the greater London area.

On April 3, as another 1½ million workers were on the verge of joining the 1,700,000 already out, representatives of some 40 unions in the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions agreed to call off the strike. The dispute is now before a non-binding government appointed court of enquiry.

A REUTERS dispatch of April 4 reports that the return to work was punctuated by protests, new disputes, rumblings of discontent and lack of work. Many workers complained their leadership sold out before a hard cash settlement was reached. Another dispatch said that "One group of 3,000 boilermakers at Birkenhead voted not to go back." "Local union officials in Liverpool and in the Clyde district expressed disappointment at the decision" to end the strike.

Some 370,000 railwaymen who threatened to join the shipyard workers, after refusing to accept a 3 per cent wage increase, finally wrung a 5 per cent increase from the Railway Staff National Tribunal. This was half the increase that they and the rest of the unions had demanded to meet the spiralling cost of living.

Macmillan and his government is under attack from all sides. Within his own party there is confusion and indecision. The Suez adventure, blocked from developing into what might have become a full-scale war by such militant working class demonstrations as took place in Trafalgar Square, now, four months later, finds Britain desperately short of oil. Britain's precious gold reserves have dwindled away to the disastrous point they reached in 1952.

Attempts to curtail the vast military expenditures eaten up by commitments to NATO and attempts to crush the rising freedom struggles in Britain's far-flung colonial possessions, have brought endless complications for the Tories. The freeing of Makarios and other actions designed to end the stalemate on Cyprus resulted in the resignation of Salisbury. The Bermuda agreement to turn Britain into an atomic warhead base, what's more, under the control of the US State Department, and Macmillan's determination to continue the H Bomb tests despite proven dangers to humanity, have roused the opposition of wide layers of the population.

The credit squeeze and hire purchase restrictions designed to curtail expenditures by the workers and at the same time introduce a small pool of unemployment to place Big Business in a better

position to attack the working class, cut costs of production, and reduce imports, has come up against a far from docile working class.

Macmillan's determination to insure the profits of the capitalists, despite the bankruptcy of British imperialism, particularly decontrol of rents that will give landlords an estimated \$280 million, and increases in payments to the health program, are undermining what popular support the Tories had. In by-election after by-election the government has taken a beating. In what was Eden's seat, the Tory majority dropped from 13,466 to 2,157 votes. At Bristol the Tory vote dropped 22,000 to 14,162—marking a big shift in middle class support from the Tories over to Labor.

It is conceded that were an election called today Labor would be swept back into office. The government is not required to call an election for another three years but as things are developing the government may be brought down long before that.



Striking engineers harassed by police in England. This photo was taken at the Massey-Harris-Ferguson plant at Manchester as the company attempted to run a truck through picket lines. The workers are resisting attempts of the Tory government to place the burden of the developing capitalist crisis on their backs while protecting the profits of Big Business.

Negroes Combat Race Terror in South Threaten to March Against Washington

By LOU MARSH

Plans for a nation-wide march on Washington by thousands of Negroes and whites if Eisenhower continues his refusal to speak out against the reign of terror in the south, have received wide support. Ninety-seven southern Negro leaders from 10 southern states wired President Eisenhower last month stating they would organize a mass

march on Washington if he maintains his silence about the white supremacists' bombings and shootings. The wire said in part, "If you, our President, cannot come South to relieve our harassed people, we shall have to lead our people to you in the capital, to call the nation's attention to the violence and organized terror directed toward men, women and children."

The demand was immediately picked up by the Negro press. The Baltimore Afro-American in a red banner headline 2½ inches high blazoned "WELL MARCH" across its eight columns. The Pittsburgh Courier's front page proclaimed: "Negro Leaders Tell Ike: 'COME SOUTH OR WELL MARCH ON WASHINGTON!'" The New York Amsterdam News ran as its major story "Speak up Ike—M. L. King Bus Boycott Leader Ready To Lead March on Washington."

IKE HOLIDAYS

Shortly after he received this wire, Eisenhower stated at a press conference that he could not go south to speak against racist violence because of his crowded daily agenda. He then took a two-week golfing and hunting vacation in Georgia. Washington's indifference to the heroic Southern Negroes, whose very lives are in danger throughout the Dixie Terror Belt,

comfort to the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council." Vice-President Nixon was also sent a wire asking him to make a report on the south similar to the one he made on Hungary.

Meanwhile the struggle for Negro rights is continuing on the local scene. In Montgomery, where the recent wave of struggle began in a bus boycott, their fighting

see NEGRO STRUGGLE—p. 2

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#18 - May 1957

World Says NO! to H-Bomb Tests

World-wide scientific and popular opposition to the production and testing of H-Bombs is steadily mounting. Dr. Albert Schweitzer, world-renowned scientist, has added his name to the long list of scientists who have warned of the dangers to human existence involved in the continued explosion of H-Bombs.

The stepped-up atomic armament campaign in imperialist countries, with the announcement that NATO nations will arm with thermonuclear weapons, is increasingly stamping the imperialist west as the source of the threat of H-Bomb destruction.

Anti-war feeling in Japan, the first victim of atomic destruction, has reached a new peak in the struggle against the scheduled British H-Bomb tests in the Pacific. Having already suffered from radioactivity from previous US tests, and Russian H-bomb explosions in Siberia, a feeling of alarm is growing in Japan. Japanese scientists have warned that a dangerous contamination of the atmosphere exists from recent Russian tests, and the government has

warned the population to boil their drinking water and wash all fresh foods.

A militant anti-war opposition is mobilizing a "peace navy" to sail into the test area in an effort to prevent the British explosions. It has gained response in England where a group of pacifists have volunteered to go with the Japanese fleet and risk their lives. A British committee headed by Bertrand Russell is raising funds to finance the voyage. The H-Bomb mad rulers of Britain have declared their intention to go ahead with the tests, and the "peace navy" will enter the area at their own risk. The government has rejected all official Japanese appeals to stop the tests.

The new British military policy of drastically curtailing their traditional army trained with conventional weapons, in favor of making Britain an atomic war base, is driving home to the people of Britain the peril of the imperialist war drive. They have been made to realize that their capitalist rulers are willing to sacrifice them to H-bomb destruction in order to protect a few strategic air bases to

launch their own H-bombs at the USSR.

The scope of the working class opposition to the H-Bomb has forced the Gaitskell leadership of the Labor Party to retreat from its previous complete endorsement of the Tory government's H-Bomb policy. The struggle against the tests is pushing the Bevanite left of the Labor Party forward in a challenge to the official leadership. This advance by the working class in the anti-war struggle in England will increasingly be an important factor in presenting a socialist alternative to H-bomb destruction.

A powerful blow against the war drive was struck recently by 19 top German atomic scientists who declared that they would no longer have anything to do with the Adenauer government program of production of atomic weapons. They stated that they would work only on peaceful development of atomic energy.

As in Britain the German working class is intervening in the struggle. The trade union movement organized mass May Day demonstrations against the production and use of atomic weapons.



"But my dear—this whole desegregation thing is a threat to the flower of white womanhood."

CCF CONVENTIONS HELD IN ONT. & BC

Issues Evaded in Ont. BC Ranks Threaten Declaration

By P. MILFORD

The 23rd annual Ontario CCF convention was held on the Easter weekend April 18, 19 and 20th. The holding of the convention just a short period before the federal election was an opportunity for the CCF to hammer out a socialist program and to get this program across to the people of Ontario and all Canada.

The case of Herbert Norman, witch-hunted to his death by a US Senatorial committee on uncorroborated and fraudulent data supplied by the RCMP to the FBI, along with CCF MP Harold Winch's revelations on RCMP dossiers, presented the CCF leadership with an opportunity to take a principled stand on civil rights.

The Norman case was the subject of an emergency resolution presented by Essex East in the opening minutes of the convention. However, while showing the witch-hunting methods of the old-line capitalist parties, the emergency resolution did not question the legitimacy of RCMP dossiers but only urged that they be more accurate and be made use of in a more responsible manner.

After the civil rights emergency resolution the rest of the day was spent on moralizing resolutions on the maltreatment of bush horses by northern logging companies and on the high cost of dying. Not that there were no good resolutions on the more important issues of the day. There were far less than in previous years, testifying to the further organizational and political decline of the constituency organizations. But there were still a few which the resolutions committee spent considerable time in skirting around.

Kingston submitted a resolution which stated that "arms eventually lead to war" and called upon the CCF to "oppose any Canadian participation in German rearmament or the arming of any nation." It was quickly destroyed by referring it to the provincial council where it will die a slow death or be emasculated by next year.

As a sidelight of the convention Harold Prescott, mayor of Capreol and CCF candidate for the Nickel Belt, after a long debate by a lawyer and a minister, made the statement that only workers should be CCF candidates. Mr. Prescott said: "We don't need these lawyers and doctors as candidates. Why get these big, fancy-do fellows

when the working fellows are as smart?"

"It's time you went back to your seat," snapped Prof. George Grube, chairman of the convention.

About midway through the convention a delicately worded resolution from Spadina was presented on the role of public ownership. In reality when the legal phraseology of the resolution was pushed aside it appeared to be a mild criticism of the Winnipeg Declaration. The resolution called upon "the National Council to designate a committee, with instructions to study and bring up to date CCF policy on nationalizations" and "report their conclusions in COMMENT, the CCF research publication, without delay."

Spokesmen for the Provincial Council attacked the resolution on the ground that they did not have time to go into such research. Though the resolution was passed, one can expect little from the forthcoming research. This resolution was a sorry excuse for the thorough-going criticism that the Winnipeg Declaration needed from this convention.

While there were approximately 250 voting delegates in attendance, only 188 bothered to vote for the Provincial Council. There were 20 official union delegates who for the most part took little part in the convention and seemed critical of the convention as a whole.

The only live spot in the convention was at its close at 5:02 Saturday. The usual motion was made to refer the resolutions not yet dealt with (often the more important and controversial resolutions, in this case resolutions on religious education in the schools, land expropriation, etc.) to the incoming Provincial Council. However, instead of the expected compliance with what has become a bureaucratic trick, a militant resistance developed.

A delegate from Hamilton sparked the flurry with a fighting speech. Speaker after speaker hit the floor asking why the important resolutions were not dealt with at the convention and why the convention's time was taken up with debate on unimportant resolutions. Some suggestions for reorganization in the presentation of the resolutions were made. But the opposition was impromptu and unorganized and was quickly defeated. Thus ended the twenty-third annual convention.

By W. GRAHAM

BC CCF RETAINS REGINA MANIFESTO FOR ANOTHER YEAR

A CBC news report was captioned with the above headline, and in procedural and legalistic sense, this evaluation of the provincial convention of the BC CCF, held in the last week of April, is correct. The

Vancouver Sun reported in the same vein "BC CCFers Saturday expressed indirect opposition to the 'watered down' socialism adopted by the national party in its 'Winnipeg Declaration' of 1956."

Seven clubs submitted resolutions on the declaration adopted without previous discussion in the movement by the national convention held last year in Winnipeg.

Delegate Reg Bullock from North Vancouver circularized the convention with a mimeographed statement on his club's opposition to the Winnipeg Declaration. Visualizing possible attempts to forestall discussion, the statement declared "it is time to call a halt, notwithstanding an imminent federal election."

Reporting for the resolutions committee, Grace MacInnis introduced a resolution to postpone discussion until 1958. Only two delegates voted against postponement and the provincial executive had its way.

But previous to all this the convention had seized upon an amendment moved by Colin Cameron, an MP in the last house of commons, to a resolution on Automation. Cameron amended the resolution to pledge the CCF to "social ownership" of industry not just "controls," when dealing with CCF government's social planning for industry.

Everyone immediately grasped the meaning of the resolution and backed the Cameron amendment with obvious enthusiasm. And indeed, its implications are obvious in its contradiction to the Winnipeg Declaration which is in favor of "mixed economy" and its shift to permit capitalist exploitation under a CCF government.

The challenge of the convention delegates was so obvious that the BC leadership and all the MP's not seeking election used the opportunity to demagogically jump on the bandwagon and separate themselves from the Winnipeg Declaration. Only Harold Thayer, the provincial secretary, and Frank McKenzie, president of the BC section stood by their solid support for the Winnipeg Declaration.

Among the highlights of the weekend session were resolutions Against expansion of private rail-

The Winnipeg Declaration junked the founding Regina Manifesto which declared opposition to war designed to make the world safe for capitalism and committed the movement to the nationalization of the basic means of production. The Winnipeg Declaration outlines liberal-reformist, anti-monopoly program, and a mixed economy.

and TV, critical of CBC's programming, but supporting it for production of social plays like Joe Hill; For a sliding scale of hours to meet the problems of automation—shorter hours and the same or greater take-home pay. Against the "give-aways" of natural resources of timber, minerals and power of BC to the Wenatchee and other interests; A demand for public power in future power developments in BC, etc.

In general, these and other resolutions reflect genuinely the political aspirations of the trade union movement in Canada. However, the need to gear the party as a dynamic force in the political life of the working class did not advance during the convention nor can it until the section of the left-wing closest to the working class endeavours to reach out in positive manner to activate itself in the unions and in the real political life of the community.

In the clashes between the right and left wings, no one from the left decisively increased in stature. The left prejudiced its attempt to win executive posts (the right captured them all) by not demanding the discussion on the Winnipeg declaration.

Cameron himself supported the move to defer debate on the Winnipeg declaration because, he plausibly said, the earlier vote on Automation "indicated overwhelming that something quite definite would be done about the lamentable document of last year." The left was consequently unable to sharply and directly show the theoretical foundation of its politics. Its failure to do this, coupled with its compromise with the right isolated from the uncommitted delegates, allowing the initiative to pass on the leadership, and did not permit it opportunity to win over the leadership's supporters.

June 21, 1957

To the Toronto SEL
Dear Comrades;

The Canadian movement has been presented with an opportunity of giving some important help to our southern friends in a promising situation that is developing in the youth movement there which at the same time will give one of our comrades Ernest Tate an opportunity to widen his experience and thereby the collective experience of our movement.

There was some unavoidable delay in making the necessary arrangements---they have now been made but time is an important factor.

The Political Committee therefore asks for a leave of absence on behalf of Comrade Tate for a period of approximately 2 to 3½ months commencing your meeting of June 26

fraternally

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Ross Dowson". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the word "fraternally".

ROSS DOWSON

Excerpts from Vancouver Branch Minutes of June 22, 1957.

Lewis reported from a letter she had received from Comrade Kent, dated June 12.

(Quotation included here for clarity)

"One of the questions that Graham raised was 'the place of the Memorandum in the discussion' we are having on the CCF. I submitted this document for discussion, and eventual adoption by the party. I believe that so far it is the pivotal document. My impression is that Graham's is in general agreement with it and is looked upon by him to be in a way supplementary to it. *Brigley's* document while dealing in the main with the running of a candidate is an orientation document and is in opposition to the Memorandum. I have the impression that *Brigley* in some ways has changed his mind on different aspects of his document--at any rate while it is in opposition to the Memorandum it does not present itself formally as such and as an alternative document. I gather from Briar that he is in the process of preparing a document for the discussion. I gather from his comments on my criticism of two articles submitted to the Vanguard--his BC convention article and his and Douglas' article on Young--that he is in disagreement with the Memorandum. I am hoping if this is so that his document is so written as to deal specifically with the memorandum and to outline another perspective. I believe that we will be receiving his document shortly. Graham's document has been circulated here--there has been no formal discussion--I was intending to open the matter up here in Toronto again immediately upon receipt of Briar's contribution.

"I do not believe that we can wait for a convention to settle matters. I do not see that it is possible to have a satisfactory convention until next summer. We are planning a tour--this would bring two or three comrades to Vancouver and one or more could come out for the time of the convention. In the meantime we have to write a paper and go about our work. While it is not desirable situation we are, it seems to me, actually operating here in the East on the Memorandum. The paper is being edited more or less in line with the Memorandum. I think we should be considering some way of taking a formal vote some time this Fall."

(end of quotation)

Discussion on the report:

Reveals deep going differences in activities and understanding between ourselves and the National Office, particularly the confusion existing in and about the Memorandum which has not been accepted by the Party and yet upon which they appear and claim to be operating in the East. Graham wished to make it clear that he does not consider his contribution to date a "supplement" to the Memorandum.

The Workers **Vanquard**

#19 - June
1957

A Workers' World — or None!



Ottawa Supports US State Dept. Opposition to H Bomb Test Ban

July 3—The world-wide demand that H Bomb tests be halted immediately was replied to by US President Eisenhower's special negotiator, Harold E. Stassen, before the UN Disarmament Subcommittee in London yesterday.

Speaking on behalf of the British, the French, and the Canadian government—which is represented by a Martin Ellis—and addressing himself to the representative of the government of the USSR, Stassen made it clear that the US State Department and its allies intend to block and frustrate by every means at their disposal the demand that an end be called to these death-threatening tests.

Stassen answered the Soviet Union's proposal for an immediate suspension of the tests with a proposal of a temporary 10-month suspension tied in with a multitude of conditions, whereas' and buts. Stassen's terms require a precise agree-

ment on the suspension's relation to first cuts in armed forces and non-nuclear arms and end of the production of fissionable materials for weapons, acceptance of inspection posts to monitor nuclear testing, agreement of other nations now outside the subcommittee, so forth and so on.

THE GLOBE AND MAIL'S Washington correspondent, Philip Deane, writes in his column of July 2 of the US State Department being "haunted by the thought that Russia would accept any US proposals for inspection of nuclear factories," and of the Stassen proposal being "so worded as to allow a retreat

especially on the subject of a temporary cessation of nuclear tests."

While Stassen conducts the stall in the UN Subcommittee, Eisenhower and certain scientists in the government's Atomic Energy Commission and other bodies are carrying on a high-powered campaign to belittle the dangers of radio-active fallout and to justify further pollution of the earth's atmosphere in what they claim is a search for a "clean" H Bomb.

It is apparent that Washington and its Canadian, British and French allies are resolutely opposed to any ban on H bomb tests. To leave the matter in their hands, in the hands of the UN or any other Big Power conferences, is to court disaster. The people of Canada and of the United States must intervene.

The Workers **Vanquard**

TORONTO HEARS HELEN SOBELL DEFEND WITCH-HUNT VICTIMS

By P. MILFORD

Helen Sobell made a plea for justice for her husband, Morton Sobell, American witch-hunt victim, in Toronto, on Sunday, June 16. The civil rights meeting addressed by Mrs. Sobell was held at the Oddfellows Hall on Broadview under the auspices of the Socialist Educational League.

Speaking from the platform with Mrs. Sobell were Don Ross, a representative of the Toronto Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, and Ross Dowson, secretary of the SEL. Despite its being one of the hottest days of the early summer, and a high humidity, between 50 and 60 turned out to hear Helen Sobell who has left her scientific studies to go from person to person, from group to group to plead her husband's cause and to win help in the struggle to free him.

As introductory speaker Ross Dowson posed the question of "What business to Canadians is the case of Morton Sobell?; a man who has been sentenced to 30 years in Alcatraz in the 'espionage' trial that resulted in the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. He was tried before an American court—before an American judge, by an American jury and, presumably according to American law." Dowson stated that the case of Morton Sobell is every bit of our business. "We would be derelict in our responsibility to a fellow human being, to his wife and to his family; even more; we would be derelict in our responsibility to one of the most important issues of our times—civil rights."

Dowson went on to say; "Cheap cars, refrigerators and Paul Robeson cannot pass over our border, but the witch-hunt does. McCarthyism, anti-labor legislation ideas do." Referring to E. H. Norman, murdered by the slander of a US Senatorial Committee, he pointed out that the witch-hunt comes over the border freely "and it is not just a one-way street either." "Canadians have their own civil rights cases. There is the former Immi-

gration Minister Pickersgill's passing revelation at a public meeting that 3,000 immigrants have been deported, there are the RCMP dossiers on MP's, there is Murdochville with its police army, machine guns and tear gas." He finished with an appeal that all should join the campaign to free Morton Sobell.

The high point of the program came when Helen Sobell spoke. She dramatically supplemented the main outlines of the case as they had been presented by means of a film strip. She showed how Morton Sobell, along with the Rosenbergs, was convicted in an atmosphere of war and spy hysteria—an atmosphere that had been generated to produce an association in the minds of Americans between all non-conformist thought and spying.

She emphasized how the conviction of Sobell was based solely on the testimony of a self-confessed perjurer who stood to gain his own freedom by testifying acceptably. Asked during the question period why her husband was put in Alcatraz penitentiary, she replied; "He is in Alcatraz which is reserved for only the most hardened criminals and given no liberties whatsoever so that they can weaken and break him. But they will not succeed."

Following Mr. Ross' speech on the activities of the Toronto Sobell Committee and his appeal for aid, a resolution was passed unanimously by the meeting and sent to the United States government and the United States Consulate. It urged that a new trial be granted Sobell and that in the meantime he be transferred from Alcatraz to a prison on the East Coast where he would be able to consult with his attorneys and have visits from his family.

The audience responded generously to an appeal for funds. A collection of \$62 was turned over to the Toronto Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

August 28, 1957
569 Yonge Street
Toronto 5, Ont.

Charlie Ross
R.R. # 2
St Peters
Prince Edward Island

Dear Charlie;

Received your note the other day with the enclosed ten bucks. Thanks very much. I have filed away \$8.90 into the Vanguard account where all Vancouver money goes and have let Ballaline know. I bundled \$1.10 worth of literature off to you along with some more Vanguards. You did not tell me that you could use more copies of the August issue but I figure since you appear to be getting around so much that you could. Any rate just before it gets too old if you have some left over you can always do a little door to door distribution in Summerside and save the whites out of the local inhabitants.

I hope that the items I shipped along are new to you. The Militants I know you have not seen. I doubt that you have read any of the other material.

Now don't get buried down there- Remember you belong to us. Are you going to drop in on us here for a while or are you once you set off going to roll right through to Vancouver. I would hate to see you lose your job connections on the docks. But of course it is good to see that you are enjoying your stay there.

We are getting ready for our fall activity now. Executive elections are next week. We made the tour we planned in the lower Western Ontario area. Very worthwhile although it did not result in many subs or large literature sales. We made contact with some important Stalinists and to some degree have overcome their prejudices against us. We are now trying to stir up the Sobell Committee here in Toronto. Saw the head man yesterday and he is quite astounded about the prejudice that exists in the LPP peripheral groups against us--although he told me that ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ a club that he belongs to is planning to invite various tendencies to send a speaker down to discuss Canada's Road To Socialism and it was urged that I be invited down on behalf of our movement.

Had a very successful Trotsky memorial meeting last Friday. We have pushed the back wall of our downstairs hall back about six feet so we have a much better meeting place. We had about twenty eight in attendance which I think is pretty good for a summer meeting. Everyone has now had their summer holidays and they are raring to go. If you drop in on the way West we will let you give us a hand. I have no particular news about doings in Vancouver. Have you written them. I am sure they would be pleased to hear from you

warmest regards

Ross Dowson

SASK. AND ALTA. CCF DISCUSS H BOMB-WINNIPEG DECLARATION

Last month the Saskatchewan section of the CCF—the party's largest section with membership of 19,000 and the only one holding provincial office—had the opportunity to speak out on the Winnipeg Declaration. This declaration was foisted on the movement at last August's national convention—the delegates receiving the draft without any previous discussion in the movement and only as they were entering the assembly hall.

The Saskatoon constituency organization presented a resolution to the provincial convention held in Saskatoon asking that a "thorough review of the long term philosophy and short term program be undertaken because the Winnipeg Declaration did not clearly set out the socialist principles of the CCF." When the panel that dealt with this resolution reported non-concurrence to the assembled delegates it was not challenged by a single delegate and the matter was shelved without comment.

The Alberta convention, which assembled in Edmonton just a few weeks prior to the Saskatchewan convention, did not even face up to the question of the Winnipeg Declaration.

This spring the BC section was

cajoled into postponing discussion of the declaration until 1958 although seven clubs had submitted resolutions protesting the declaration's substitution of a mixed economy for the founding Regina Manifesto's "nationalization of the basic means of production" and opposition "to wars designed to make the world safe for capitalism." Only two delegates voted against postponement, although previous to this the convention voted in support of an amendment to an automation resolution pledging the CCF to social ownership and not just controls. The Ontario convention expressed uneasiness but at the same time evaded the question by passing, over the opposition of the leadership, a motion that asked the national council to strike off a committee with instructions to study and bring up-to-date CCF policy on nationalizations and report their findings in **Comment**.

With the Saskatchewan and Alberta conventions the main provin-

cial sections have now been heard from. It is clear that the national leadership has succeeded in legalizing its rightward course of the past decade.

Last Mountain constituency submitted a resolution protesting the monopoly control of the propane gas industry in Saskatchewan "which is imposing increasing and seemingly exorbitant prices on the consumer" and calling for action by the CCF government to control the industry or "enter the field itself by means of the Saskatchewan Power Corporation or some other crown corporation."

A Regina delegate spoke up in its support, but that section of the resolution calling for the government to enter the field was struck out. Premier Douglas declined to comment on the proposals. Seven years ago he felt it necessary to hit the floor of the Legislative Assembly in Regina declaring that he would resign as provincial CCF leader if a party convention asked his government to repudiate promises made to the big oil monopolies now looting the natural wealth of the province.

Last Mountain's resolution for

nationalization of the CPR was passed by the convention without debate. But the Coldwell leadership has made it clear that while they favor nationalization of the CPR they do not support its integration with the nationally owned CNR, but their continued operation in wasteful "competition" with one another.

The Saskatchewan convention, discussing the case of Canada's "murdered" Ambassador to Egypt, Herbert Norman, took a much superior stand to that of the Ontario convention. Instead of calling for a more "responsible use" of RCMP dossiers the Saskatchewan convention passed a resolution demanding the government "put an immediate stop to the making of RCMP or other department files on the political beliefs or political activities of Canadian citizens."

Both the Alberta and Saskatchewan conventions passed resolutions on the H Bomb. Alberta demanded that "further tests of such bombs be immediately stopped" and urged that Canada "take action at once through the UN with a view to the banning by all nations of the use of all atom, hydrogen or other nuclear bombs." The Saskatchewan convention passed a resolution urging that "at least 50 per cent of the defence budget should be directed to the winning of friends throughout the world by means of giving economic aid." It requested that the government establish a royal commission to investigate the advisability of "defending our way of life by unilateral disarmament and non-violent resistance."

Both conventions were regaled with lengthy speeches by national leader M. J. Coldwell and provincial leaders T. C. Douglas and Elmer Roper, on the so-called strategic position that the 25 CCF MPs will hold in the next house. The delegates were showered with roseate predictions of the disintegration of the Liberal Party. While recognizing that the 106-man Liberal opposition is in fundamental agreement with the Tory government, the CCF leaders presented a picture of a Tory government dependent on the CCF for parliamentary survival.

In a more sober vein, sensitive to the opportunistic pressures confronting the movement which has been stripped of its basic programmatic defenses, Alberta president William Irvine warned the delegates; "The only CCFers who really lost their votes were those who allowed themselves to be persuaded to vote for a party in which they did not believe to keep out another party in which they did not believe. . . ."

#21 - Aug. 1957

SUB DRIVE GOES OVER TOP CAMPAIGNS IN NEW FIELDS

The VANGUARD sub drive went over the top with 201 subs. With only one sub rally rained out this time the drive was successfully concluded in the second week of July. Jerry ended top man with 36 subs, after him came Kent, Fred, Bruce and Bunny with 25, 22, 20, and 16 respectively.

What put the finishing touch to the drive was a trip to Hamilton during which a squad got 17 one-year subs. All VANGUARD supporters and friends are to be thanked for the efforts they have made to get more subs for the VANGUARD and for making this campaign a successful one.

This Hamilton trip that put the campaign over the top was but one of a series of trips and tours that Socialist Educational League members are making for the Vanguard and socialism. Other trips have been to the Sault Ste Marie-Sudbury area, and Brantford, London, Niagara section of Ontario. On these trips new subs are won for the Vanguard; but also, friends and supporters are seen, subs are renewed, discussions are held with persons of the different tendencies in the labor movement, socialist literature sold and Vanguards are distributed.

During the Brantford, London, Niagara tour, over 4,000 Vanguards were distributed in this important industrial area. Kroehler Furniture in Stratford, the site of a great class battle, and Dominion Rubber in Kitchener where 1,000 were distributed, are two of the many fac-

ories visited.

One of the impressions that those on the tours got was that the CCF and LPP organizations in these areas are not functioning and that their members are disheartened. All except one of the militants and politicians were willing to discuss freely the many problems confronting the labor movement and the problem of the regroupment of socialist forces. Twenty-five dollars worth of socialist literature was sold and many new friends made for the Vanguard on the tours.

SEL supporters have been busy in Toronto also. At the last Toronto Labor Council meeting 30 copies of the VANGUARD were sold. A leaflet on the Lever Bros. strike was distributed at the Labor Council and was well received by everybody. One brother asked for additional copies to give to his local. When this leaflet was handed out at a membership meeting of Lever strikers it was enthusiastically received. In fact, one striker who dropped the leaflet on the ground after reading it, was made to pick it up again by his mates and told that such leaflets cost money and shouldn't be wasted. Copies of the SEL leaflet "On The Line at Lever's" can be picked up free of charge at the Toronto Labor Bookstore, 569 Yonge Street.

The sub drive is over—but as always we still want more subs for the Vanguard, so if you have a friend who might be interested, give him a sub to the Vanguard. And your own sub? Are you about due for a renewal? If so, send it in.

the workers and their families and scabbing but when they participate in organized violence — this I cannot understand. Most of them are English and from the University of New Brunswick. It was really quite moving how everyone treated us and when we told them we were students it really meant something to them. They told us how two kids from Laval University had come down with placards saying: "Scabs are not true students."

It was amazing how every one was so willing and eager to talk and show us things and how they are actually **GRATEFUL** that we had come. Thank god I have been learning French this summer.

The terrorism and tricks are out of this century and it is hard to make people understand unless they were actually there. The secretary told us about fighting with the provincial police to keep them from shoving "our women" around on the picket line. The workers in their own interests are trying to be pacifistic but it is getting tougher all the time as non-strikers become more numerous. It is amazing the lack of bitterness they have against the scabs. They realize the immigrants are caught and they take their resentment out on "the company."

What bothers the union boys is the students — if this is the way "educated" people act what in the h--- is left for the world! The union secretary really impressed me; she did everything everyone else did and the secretarial stuff too.

Type courtesy of "SHIP & SHOP," official organ of the Marine Workers' & Boilermakers' Industrial Union Local No. 1.

When I thought of her with commercial and incomplete high school all we University clods appear money. However, the tragedy is quite deep because attackers with German accents screaming "Dirty Canucks" and rock throwing negro students have already set race relations and "new Canadian" relations years back in the Gaspé.

I've left out most of the awful things we saw because they sound so unbelievable, except one more thing—they have been arresting strikers under the now illegal Padlock law. Murdochville isn't in the Twentieth Century right now!

The trip here was the most worthwhile and eye-opening experience of the whole summer for me. I hate to be a burden and a pest but I wonder what are the chances of getting a hundred dollars? Me and my — medical expenses.

Yours, a problem as usual,
Paddy

P.S. Honestly, I have under exaggerated the Murdochville mess. The company policy seems to be to try and frighten the men back to work and to drain off the union's money in law suits — because, under the law the men are right and must eventually win if they can hold out long enough. It sure showed me the need for big, affiliated unions; without the money coming from other locals they couldn't keep going (each family with one child gets \$18.00 per week.)

Still
Paddy

STANLEY PARK C.C.F. CLUB
Vancouver, B.C.
1343 Robson Street,
(Public Forum Every Sunday, 8:00 p.m.)

To All Union Members: To All Workers In Industry:

BROTHERS —

Here is an on-the-spot report of the situation in Murdochville.

The struggle of the heroic miners so vividly depicted in this letter is the struggle of all Labor.

The entire working class has a stake in a victory here — a defeat would be a serious blow to all organized Labor. We must not allow them to go down.

AT YOUR NEXT UNION MEETING

(if you have not already taken action)

1. Declare your support for the Murdochville strikers.
2. Have your Union declare its support.
3. Protest the police and Company brutality.
4. Set up Union committees to raise money immediately for the embattled miners.
5. Weld the unity of all Labor in this project by centralizing the local organizations and their endeavors through the Vancouver Labour Council.

"OUR STRENGTH IS IN OUR UNITY"

NOW IS THE TIME TO USE IT

Herewith, we submit a letter of "Paddy" Henderson, nineteen year old U.B.C. student, written to her folks from Montreal where she has been attending a Summer Camp project of the Student Christian Movement.

"Dear Mom and Dad,

Hi. Well, I broke my leg. What a way to start a letter. It's no messy at all though, nice clean job. A bit of a nuisance the last days of camp.

A couple of days ago Robert (our ever lovin' director) and I hitch-hiked down to Murdochville and back, making almost unbelievable time (18 hours down and 16 hours back — six hundred miles away down in lonely Gaspé where few cars travel).

We went to take the sixty dollars that the kids who relieved the minister at Garden-ville United raked in from their preaching. Registered mail to Murdochville had been known to be interfered with. Also we went to see the situation for ourselves and report back to the ever lovin' work campers. We sort of went determined like — hiking when we couldn't hitch and never stopping.

I don't know if the name, Murdochville means anything in B.C. so, if contemporary news in Quebec hasn't seeped out there: It is a one-industry town, mining Gaspé copper; population 700 mostly young miners, married, buying their homes from the company. They are striking for the right to be recognized as a certified union. The miners have been on strike here since March 10th.

MURDOCK IS THE LAW

The law says if 51% of the men in your plant want to be

certified as a union it must be recognized. Murdochville miners are 95 per cent wanting and applied to the Labor Relations Board one year ago last April. The company interfered apparently just before they were granted certification by the Board. For a year negotiations were carried on — getting nowhere. Last March they went on strike. The object of the strike is to get the union recognized as the bargaining agent so it can in the future (naturally) bargain for higher wages and stuff.

While there, Robert and I talked to the local union boy, the union secretary, the imported union boy, and strikers, (no non-strikers). There has been a good deal of violence. The scabs, most of whom are imported — and imported since the strike began, (like the hundred university students making an easy buck), are composed of these students and also some German and Hungarian immigrants the company sponsored to Canada and, according to the union and the lawyer boy, they are coerced with threats of deportation.

It is a sad situation. The strikers, although many of them were bruised and beaten and in casts and things, at least the ones we talked to had no intention of giving in. The spirit was strong, the men and their wives were definitely behind their Union.

IMPORTED GOONS

On the other hand the non-strikers have been doing little

tricks like organized rock throwing, smashing windows and a wee stunt that completely demolished the Union office (United Steel Workers of America, by the way) and put a couple of the occupants in the hospital.

As we sat in the remnants of the office the strike seemed very real. The non-strikers wait until all the union representatives and others picketing with the strikers leave Murdochville to go home for the night in the next town (not enough accommodation in M. for them) then they swoop down from their bunkhouses on the hills with long pipes of Gaspé copper, (home grown product so one striker with half a face left, jokingly told me) and blackjacks, also home products (we saw samples of both) and they attack the strikers and, shockingly, their families.

All the strikers are married — mostly young handsome fellows; the unmarried ones all left the town and, although they are not picketing they are not scabbing, and plan to return when the fight is over.

The town is swarming with Provincial Police but Duplessis' boys turn their back and give no protection at all at all. In fact there are CBC movies filmed from the air showing the phoniness of police restraint on rock throwers. In spite of beat-up bodies and beat-up cars the grievances are so deep it looks like the strike will go on a long time.

FREE ENTERPRISE WITH ROCKS

We visited one man in his home. Quite a job had been done on him — cast up to his knee, deafened in one ear and

when someone dies they are going to get him an eye to replace the one he lost. He had a lovely husky young wife and a healthy, hefty blonde 17 month old son.

There was a hole through his bathroom wall. The story goes that his wife was cleaning the baby on the toilet when the rock came crashing through. She grabbed Junior just in time. The boulder hit the toilet seat and bounced out the window. Junior got off with a few glass cuts on his forehead. This young guy sat in his arm chair and calmly told us that he was staying in Murdochville till the scabs left if it took ten years!

Some of the things we heard and saw were fantastic. The latest is apparently bouncers from Montreal organizing groups of attackers. A lawyer is working on this angle. Apparently they were hired by a detective agency in Montreal. He has located the agency.

It's a real 'company town.' Murdock owns the mine, of course; is a director in the Bank of Nova Scotia, Hudson's Bay Company and Famous Players (that's all there is in the town except the company church). The houses are "cheap." I'd say they would be shacks in about ten years. The basic wage was \$1.07 until the strike, the Company offered 1.14. Great wage for a miner! The cheapest meal in the one and only restaurant (owned by guess who) is \$1.15.

I can understand the students not giving a damn about



CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION

ONTARIO SECTION

THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY OF ONTARIO

565 JARVIS STREET, TORONTO 5, WALNUT 1-5148



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HENRY WEISBACH

PROVINCIAL SECRETARY

KEN BRYDEN

September 4, 1957

Toronto Labor Bookstore,
569 Yonge St.,
Toronto, Ont.

Dear Sirs:

A dollar was brought into this office as a subscription from you to Ontario CCF News. I return the dollar herewith.

Yours sincerely,

Ken Bryden,
Provincial Secretary

KB:mm
oeiu 343
encl.

HELP THEM WIN!

Are the trade unions of the Toronto area, are Toronto's 100,000 union men going to back Local 32 of the United Chemical Workers Union "the one way," "the only way we're going to defeat Lever Brothers"?

For over four months this striking 500-man-local has faced provocative company paid ads slandering the union and searching out stool pigeons in its ranks; scares over phoney, planted infernal machines; an army of goons, armed to the teeth, leering from inside the plant over the picket line; a court injunction that has turned organized labor's right to picket into a ridiculous farce.

Union ranks have remained firm, morale is high. But the plant is in production—the company has scrounged together a scab work force—its open and declared purpose is to smash this local. Is the organized labor movement in the industrial heart of Canada going to let this local go down to defeat?

The thousands of workers who will assemble at the September 9th meeting arranged by the Toronto Labor Council at Columbus Hall to discuss this strike must make their voices heard. Their answer must be a resounding NO!

The council has already had a preliminary discussion. Délégates from steel, rubber and the furworkers union have vigorously urged that a mass picket line take over the job that the chemical workers have been prevented from doing by court injunction, in order to win this strike.

Brother Gargraves put it; "I only know one way to make sure a scab doesn't get in there. I only know one way to keep them out." Referring to a critical strike of some years ago, Brother Federman said; "We didn't have money or organization in the old days. But we made up our minds to win the strike. Our duty is to organize mass picketing along with the strikers. That's the only way we're going to defeat Lever Brothers." Brother Hershovich pointed out that mass picketing is something that cannot come about by itself. "It must be organized."

We heartily concur with these statements. Now from words to action!

The bosses at Murdochville, St. Thomas, Owen Sound, and in Toronto at Canadian Laundry and Lever Brothers, are probing the body of Canadian labor for weak spots. They are testing out the capacity of the working class to defend itself and its past gains. Stop them now! Only a series of massive demonstrations of the organized power of the labor movement can win the day at Lever's! Join the picket line.



While scores of police stand by, from a hill top, scabs and company goons stone solidarity picket line before J. Y. Murdoch's copper plant at Murdochville, Que. A few hours after demonstrators left, goons rioted through the town wrecking unionists' cars, the union office, threatening the lives of strikers.

We went to Murdochville in search of the truth.....

By CLAIRE LeBLANC

Murdochville, August 12—From Mount-Louis on the St. Lawrence River inland to Murdochville we climbed along a nicely paved road. Through verdant valleys and mountains covered with pine trees. Everything is quiet, wilderness all around us—only the road reveals the presence of man.

Suddenly, a few words painted on a huge rock shattered the calm; "Pas de contrat—Pas de travail" (No contract—No work). The first indication of the strike. A few miles and a gate blocks the road. We are in a provincial park. To pass we need a permit. A few miles further and we meet another gate.

But we must now identify ourselves with the provincial police. We must submit to having our cars searched. We must tell them our business, indicate our destination. Our license number is written down and we are allowed to proceed down the highway. Later when we are to leave by the same highway on the other side of Murdochville we will find that this procedure is duplicated. A beleaguered town. The provincial police know everyone, know everything. They dominate the 28 square mile municipality.

The atmosphere grows more tense as we approach the town. Police cruisers fill the air with apprehension, with suspicion. Confronting us is a mountain side—stripped of trees, switchback roads winding up its side. From its base the tall single stack of the smelter soars. Some buildings are clustered together by a high wire fence. A plant gate soon appears in view. Two police cars at the gate—a few cars inside. On the east side—high up on a hill—are some barrack-type buildings; bunkhouses for the workers. Further on, the road

curves to the east into the townsite.

A man is walking down the road. We offer him a lift. He is a recent immigrant and speaks almost no French or English. In broken English he tells us the strike is over—more workers go back every day. It is evident he is a scab. He does not understand the role the authorities have cast him in, in the drama that unfolds in this strife-torn community. He lives unmolested in the townsite—in one of the company-built houses.

In the hotel we meet a mining engineer—recently arrived from another J. Y. Murdoch owned mine in Noranda. He is satisfied with his working conditions. He uses the fact that on the advice of the union leadership Noranda settled and broke the joint bargaining front against the company—leaving Murdochville out on its own. He tries to make out that the Murdochville strikers are dupes.

We have no trouble finding the union headquarters. The community center of this town of 2,600, whose livelihood depends on the mining of boronite ores for the J. Y. Murdoch interests, is small and concentrated. A block from the hotel we see a group of men around a store front—above on the second floor is the hall. These men are the militants of the strike, strong bodied, with determined looks. Their talk, enthusiastic and bitter, gives us the real temperature of the struggle. No dupes these!

All of them have been involved in one or more of the high points of the strike. They are anxious to recount their experiences. One begins—the police kept many strikers who live in Mount Louis, from voting in the election for the mayor of their

FOR CCF GOVERNMENTS IN THE PROVINCES AND IN OTTAWA

The Workers Vanguard

Vol. II, No. 10 (22) September, 1957



Toronto—Price 5 cents

STEEL UNION COMBATS MURDOCHVILLE TERROR

A murderous reign of terror has been launched against the United Steelworkers union, CLC. It has been declared outlaw in the town of Murdochville by Premier and Attorney General Maurice Duplessis.

Unionists and union property are fair game, there is open season on the labor movement in this Gaspe mining community. It was declared so to squads of strikebreakers and goons, hired by Gaspe Copper Mines, on August 19th, when 450 unionists, headed by CLC President Claude Jodoin, travelling in 70 cars and three buses, arrived to demonstrate their solidarity with the 1,000 miners on strike since March 11th.

After showering the pickets with

rocks, the strikebreakers, with the obvious cooperation of the provincial police, tore into the picket line smashing cars and injuring several pickets so badly that they had to be taken to hospital. Several hours later, after the cavalcade had left, a well organized army of scabs rioted down the main street, armed with knives and clubs, to wreck the union hall.

After turning the union office into shambles they up-ended and smashed unionists' cars, threatened the home of a striker who fired into their ranks before dying of a heart attack, and then marched out of town. All this time not one of the 150 provincial police who have harassed and intimidated the community for the past four months were in sight.

The police ban on picketing, casually lifted by Provincial Police Director Hilaire Beauregard for the 24-hour solidarity demonstration, has been clamped down again. Union leaders have been formally notified by the provincial and local police to leave town. The mayor has declared a curfew between the hours of 8 p.m. and 6 a.m. The parish priest has refused to rent the parish hall to the union, the only one left in the town suitable for a general meeting. The police have compelled unionists to remove all union stickers from their cars. The provincial authorities have clamped a fascist-like police regime on the town.

When the cavalcade gathered on the steps of the Quebec legislature before the day of goon squad terror, CLC President Jodoin, standing before the police-guarded doors, stated its purpose was to bring the plight of the Murdochville strikers to the attention of the province and the nation. Following the day of terror Jodoin had a closed 45-minute meeting with Duplessis who promised a full investigation into the strike and to find a solution to it.

But Duplessis knows all about this strike from that day many months ago when one of his judges,

in violation of the Quebec Labor Relations Act, issued a writ of prohibition preventing the Quebec Labor Relations Board from deciding on the union's application for certification. On August 9th

Government investigation? Government solution of this strike? It is clear that the government, that Duplessis is backing the Murdoch interests up to the hilt in their drive to smash the union. The first move that organized labor must make is to aid the harassed Murdochville strikers to organize a union defence guard, to repair their damaged headquarters, to put their apparatus in working order once again, and to set up and train a body of men capable of defending the union against company thugs and goons. Mass meetings must be held across the nation to bring the organized might of Canadian labor to the aid of the heroic fighters at Murdochville.

\$1,750.00 Aim Vanguard Drive

The Workers Vanguard Publishing Association announces the launching of its annual financial drive to meet publication costs for the coming year. We are asking you to send in a donation, the biggest possible, to our Press and Publication Fund.

We are calling the fund a Press and Publication fund this year because we are raising our sights. With your aid we not only want to continue the essential task of publication of the Vanguard but we want to raise sufficient funds to publish at least one major pamphlet.

This is a period of great ferment in the ranks of the left—amongst LPPers and CCFers. This ferment has re-awakened the interest of many who have been in and around these movements in the past, and roused the interest of as yet limited layers of new workers.

It has been long apparent to us that our monthly paper is inadequate to our purpose. It is necessary that material be made available that in a much more rounded fashion analyzes our history, our conditions, the problems of the Canadian Road to Socialism. There is no pamphlet now available that begins to meet this need. With your aid we intend to publish such a pamphlet. That is why we have raised our sights this year to \$1,750.00.

A modest amount. Not really sufficient to meet our needs—the bare minimum. But we feel a realizable target. The fund opens on September 15 and closes on November 30. Send your contribution in now, in lump form or instalments. The success of the drive depends on the participation of our readers, our friends and sympathizers. Send your contribution to Workers Vanguard, 569 Yonge Street, Toronto.

BRITISH UNIONS FOR NATIONALIZATION

Some of Britain's major unions will vote thumbs down on the policy resolution INDUSTRY AND SOCIETY being presented to the coming Labor Party convention by the right wing executive. The annual conference of the 40 union Confederation of Shipbuilding and Federation of Shipbuilders heard its secretary express himself as being "gravely disturbed" by the LP policy on nationalization.

The proposal is to purchase shares in existing privately owned companies, "I don't consider that to be socialism," declared secretary Barrat. The conference reaffirmed its belief in public ownership of engineering and drew attention to the need for public ownership in the aircraft industry.

(Continued on page 4)

October 2, 1957

Toronto

Dear Comrades;

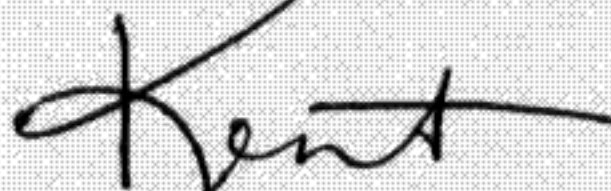
We have been informed that our southern friends are holding a Trotsky school this year---a school which will run for six months from December 1 to June 1, 1958

We are not positive at this time of writing that we will have the opportunity to send some one from here to this school as the student body this time will be limited to a maximum of eight. Nonetheless since nominations must be in before October 21, and in light of the fact that heretofore a seat in the student body has been held open for us, we are asking that the Toronto branch proceed to submit nominations for the school of local comrades they consider worthy of consideration by virtue of their services and activities in the movement and who would be able to participate for the six months period.

We are looking forward to hearing from you just as soon as possible.

The nomination of Virginia Wilson of Toronto is already before the political committee.

fraternally

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Kent', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Kent.

EARTH SATELLITE OPENS NEW VISTAS

The Workers **Vanquard**

Vol. II, No. 11 (23) October, 1957

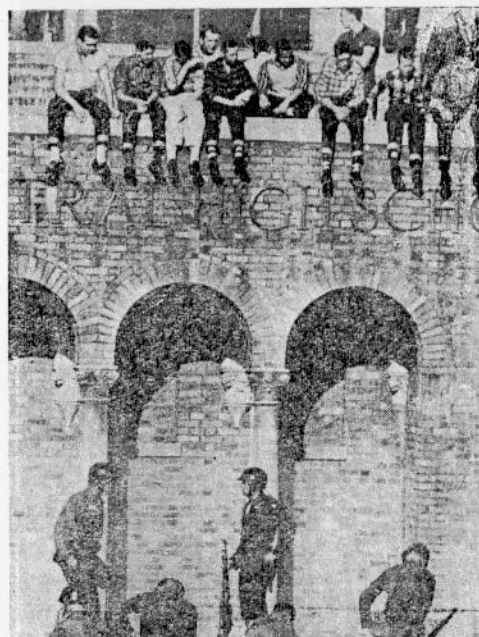
23

Toronto—Price 5 cents

UAW PROTESTS ATOMIC PERIL

The Windsor autoworkers union campaign to block the erection of the atomic reactor at Munroe, Michigan moves forward. The Malvern and Anderson council and the Amherstburg council heard and approved of a petition presented by UAW Canadian Director George Burt. Now the Windsor council has agreed to ask the Canadian government to approach the United States on the "highest levels" to gain assurance of complete safety before the Power Reactor Development Company's atom plant goes into action. Armed with documentary evidence of the US Atomic Energy Commission itself, Burt showed that the whole Windsor area was in a precarious position in the event of a mishap at the plant. The Commission's own reactor safety committee was not satisfied that there was no danger in the plant's operation.

General Motors Local 216 UAW is demanding that the American people should decide by national referendum whether there should be any further nuclear bomb tests; that atomic bomb tests in Nevada should be stopped, and that effective protests such as mass meetings, etc., should be organized against further bomb tests. This motion being circulated amongst sister unions in the Los Angeles area follows on the action last June of Chrysler Local 230 which called on the government to work for a universal banning of H Bomb tests.



Federal troops take over at Central High School, Little Rock, Arkansas, to escort a courageous group of Negro students through segregationists. Governor Faubus' defiance of the Supreme Court order and President Eisenhower's stall in enforcing the law, mobilized the racists. Inside the school Negro and white pupils sat through classes with only minor disturbances.

Eisenhower's Stall With Faubus Imperils Negro Rights in South

By FRED JOHNSON

In spite of Governor Faubus bringing in the National Guard to shut out Negro students from Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, and even though it took President Eisenhower a couple of weeks to think about enforcing the law—integration is now moving ahead.

The attitude of more than 2000 students of Central High School belies the words and actions of Governor Faubus. The teachers and the majority of the students alike, appear to be quite satisfied to let integration proceed according to the law.

The views as expressed by many white students demonstrate quite clearly that it is only the constant pressure from a small group of vicious racists that causes the incidents against Negro children attending school.

As one young senior student put it, "If the parents would go home and leave us be, we'd work this thing out for ourselves."

"I had half a dozen calls last night from people telling me not to show up today," a 16-year-old girl said, "they told me there'd be trouble in school, that it wouldn't be safe."

During a lunch period, one of the three Negro boys who attended classes, sat by himself eating his lunch. A white boy and girl, sitting nearby, saw the lonely lad. "Won't you join us," the white boy said. "Gee, thanks, I'd love to."

was the reply. The two white students and the Negro boy ate together and talked together in a real friendly manner. So goes the picture in Central High School.

Nevertheless, Governor Faubus still carries the fight for the segregationists, even after the court, presided over by Judge Davies, ruled on the injunction against his use of the National Guard.

The present Mayor of Little Rock, Woodrow Mann, backed by the Little Rock School Board, the editor of the ARKANSAS GAZETTE, Harry Ashforth, and most of the citizens of Little Rock put the blame for violence on Faubus. "The mob that gathered," Mann says, "was no spontaneous assembly. It was agitated, aroused and assembled by a concerted plan of action."

He charged that James T. Karam, a political and social intimate of Faubus, was the chief agitator of the violence at Central High School. Mann stated that "Karam has a long record of experience in strike-breaking and other activities of violence such as he engaged in recently in the Little Rock school incident."

Mann goes on to say that without this planned agitation there would have been no physical violence such as finally forced Eisenhower to send troops in to "keep the peace and enforce integration."

Democratic Senators of the Southern States back Faubus in his every action to enforce segregation. They sharply criticize Eisenhower for using force to back up the law. However, these same Democrats are quite fast in using force to break up any action on behalf of Negro rights—page 2

DUPLESSIS CUTS KRUPP IN ON QUEBEC IRON DEAL

By VIRGINIA WILSON

A protest demonstration by Montreal labor greeted the arrival in Canada of war criminal Alfred Krupp von Bohlen. A picket line headed by President Huguette Plamondon of the Montreal Labor Council marched in front of Krupp's hotel, waving placards which expressed the sentiments of:

workers everywhere: "Back to Nuremberg, war criminal! After Murdochville, Kruppville! How much, Krupp, one cent a ton? Duplessis, Hitler, Krupp, Murdochville! Krupp enslaver!"

As for the representatives of Canadian big business, Krupp's past crimes were no deterrent to their eagerness to shake the hand of this multi-millionaire and to entertain him with gracious receptions.

But Throws Military and Atom Diplomats Into Panic

By THE EDITORS

The launching of the earth satellite now hurtling through space at the speed of 18,000 miles per hour, 560 miles out, is one of the greatest scientific achievements of all time.

Man is now about to tear aside the veil from secrets of the universe that, as long as he remained earth bound, were hidden from him. A wealth of information on the planet we inhabit, its atmosphere and the properties of cosmic space, is going to be revealed to us.

Man now commands sufficient force to overcome the gravitation of the earth, to achieve speeds heretofore just draught-board calculations. We are now on the threshold of trips to the moon and beyond. Space travel is now no longer a dream but a reality.

But this great achievement, this tribute to human vision and ingenuity, has not at all been a source of jubilation everywhere. The sinister circles of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization are sulking and worrying over the satellite. They are worried about the impact it is certain to have in the battle for men's minds. Not capitalist America but the USSR was first to launch it. Since the war, while European capitalism has stagnated, the USSR has surged forward to become a power second only to the USA. Now, with this achievement to its credit, the superiority of the planned economy laid down by the Revolution of 1917, the crimes and waste of the Stalinist bureaucracy notwithstanding, is revealed for all to see.

Those in the scientific circles of the West who have prostituted their gifts to the manufacture of thermo-nuclear devices are not at all happy. Dr. A. C. B. Lovell, Britain's leading expert on satellites said, "It is frustrating. The advantage this gives them (the USSR) is enormous." A US scientist, high in official circles, is quoted as urging an all-out program to beat Russia even at the cost of billions because "the issue is supremacy."

Diplomats who dangled the bomb over frightened peoples, who glibly talked about taking the world to the brink, who threaten

see EARTH SATELLITE—page 3

Polish Students Fight For Freedom of Speech

By P. KENT

Oct. 7—The students of Warsaw are in the streets again. Demonstrations now in their fourth day and embracing ever wider strata of the population commenced on October 3 with a rally of 2,000 students outside the Warsaw

Polytechnic school, protesting the government ban on their weekly paper, *Po Prostu*. This paper, held up twice last month by censors for its criticism of Stalinism, was closed down by Communist Party officials on Wednesday with no reason given.

Just one year ago these students were in the vanguard of the threats of a nation-wide uprising that forced the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Polish CP to accept Gomulka as head of the regime. Students organized in militias, in the universities, backed up by workers' militias standing at the ready night and day in the factories, forced the Kremlin to accept the overturn in the Polish CP and to call off the Soviet occupation troops who had been ordered into attack positions.

Now, police armed with rubber truncheons, setting off tear gas, are breaking up their demonstrations and bludgeoning and arrest-

ing them. About 20 students were injured and another 30 were reported to have been arrested in the October 3 assault. On the following day, despite further threats of repression, they rallied their forces to approve a letter of protest to Gomulka, drafted by *PO PROSTU*'s editorial board. As they left the school auditorium helmeted police attacked them.

On the same day police routed a demonstration outside the Communist Party's headquarters where the party's central committee was said to be in session. Reports say that as many as 20,000 battled police in the streets for more than three hours and that at least 200 were arrested.

Threatened with expulsion the students did not participate in Saturday's demonstrations which the official radio blamed on "hooligans" and "rowdies." While the Pope from Rome, before the dele-

see POLISH STUDENTS—page 3

ing Canada's rich mineral resources for the ridiculously low royalty of one-half of one cent a ton.

The Krupp-Eaton firm received a stern warning from Quebec labor. Referring to the struggle of the hard-pressed Gaspé miners against company scabs and goons and provincial police, President Plamondon declared that "he (Krupp) will not be allowed to start up a mining organization such as the one that exists at Murdochville."

Quebec labor has good cause for alarm, for Krupp's record is black, not only as a ruthless exploiter of labor but with horrendous crimes

see CDN. BOSSES GREET—page 4

CARRIES ON THE GOOD WORK BUT NOW NEEDS YOUR HELP

The last year has seen many advances by the Vanguard. Large distributions to factories in the Toronto and Southern Ontario areas when special developments were reported. An enlarged paper with the facts on the Hungarian struggle for workers' democracy. And in this issue an insert reporting on the Moscow Youth Festival, revealing the political ferment amongst the Russian youth.

Over 300 copies were sold at the Labor Day parade, some marchers giving money to pay for the distribution of the paper to others, some paying 20, 30 and 50 cents for their copy.

There were distributions and selling of the Vanguard to Lever Bros. strikers, giving support and encouragement to their strike. The September Vanguard was distributed at the public meeting (reported in this issue) held in support of the Lever Brothers strike and certainly influenced the meeting towards militant action to help the strikers. Workers already in the hall came out to ask for copies of the paper. There were enthusiastic comments on the Vanguard's support of the strike and on its editorial for action.

Every issue of the Vanguard is sold at the Toronto Labor Council meeting with constant sales of between 30 and 40 copies. Some of the delegates have subs but many do not want a sub because they wish to read the paper before the meetings and the Vanguard is all ways there for them.

The subscription base, the influence, the size of the VANGUARD is not going down, but rather going quietly and surely upwards. The VANGUARD gains are of great importance in that the other Canadian radical papers are losing ground fast. Both the CCF and

LPP papers have lost terrifically in sub base and influence, indicating that advanced workers are losing confidence in these papers to bring correct policies to their struggles.

In contrast to this bleak picture of the dropping circulation and influence of the rest of the radical press, the future is bright for the Vanguard. The next period will see the Vanguard on new levels of active struggle. When there is a new federal election the Vanguard will be there putting forward a vigorous and correct socialist platform; there will be plant-gate distributions in support of and covering the major class battles of the workers; the Vanguard will be at all major working class political meetings, the labor council, strike meetings, etc., and when there is information of interest and importance as in this present issue the size of the Vanguard will be increased so that information can be effectively presented.

Of major importance in the future will be the publication of a Canadian socialist pamphlet with the funds raised in our current financial drive. This pamphlet will meet the urgent and long-pressing need for a definitive analysis of the Canadian road to socialism. But all this depends on you!

To put money in the bank, or in the bosses' charity drives is betting on a dead horse—capitalism. To bet on the WORKERS VANGUARD is to bet on an active struggle for socialism to win. The publications drive for \$1,750 is underway, money and promises of money are coming in. Next issue we will report progress to the attainment of our goal by Nov. 30. So, send your quarters, dollars to THE WORKERS VANGUARD, 569 Yonge St., Toronto, Ont.

Just a "change of faces" on June 10—St. Laurent

By VIRGINIA WILSON

As the debate on the speech from the throne got into full swing in the house of commons last week, ex-Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent jabbed exultantly at the proposed legislation of the new government. The Conservatives, up until last June the most vociferous exponents of "change," listened in embarrassed silence as the Opposition leader jeered at their present policies which, he pointed out, differ in no significant way from those of the late Liberal government.

"One might wonder if those who voted for a change June 10 really wanted anything more than a change of faces. So far, that seems to be the most that has been obtained except perhaps a growing uneasiness about the future."

To be sure, several top Conservative spokesmen have already disclosed that in the field of international affairs no changes need be expected. Despite their continual clamor against US domination of Canada during the Liberal regime, the Tories have made it obvious that they have no intention whatsoever of assuming any new role in world affairs. Quite the contrary! In a speech to the Dartmouth college convocation, Prime Minister Diefenbaker heartily endorsed Canada's past and present role when he stated, "Let no one say to you that the recent change in government means any change in our attitude of cooperation with the US."

To back up this pledge Diefenbaker proudly cited the Conservative decision to place North American Air Defence under a joint US-Canadian command. Now without the formality of consultation with Canada—certainly without any regard at all for the desires of the Canadian people—an order from US military brass can send Canadian bombers against the Soviet peoples or, for that matter, against the anti-imperialist masses of the Middle East—perhaps Syria.

A year ago the Anglo-French in-

vasion of Egypt, which threw the entire imperialist world into a minor crisis, caused what seemed at the time to be very sharp differences between the Liberal and Tory parties. The Conservatives pleaded for maintenance at all cost of traditional Commonwealth ties

See JUST A "CHANGE"—p. 2

FOR CCF GOVERNEMENTS IN THE PROVINCES AND IN OTTAWA

The Workers Vanguard

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Toronto—Price 5 cents

A NEW FOREIGN POLICY VOTE DOWSON ON NOV. 4



ROSS DOWSON

H-F Election Issue

On November 4 the voters in the riding of Hastings-Frontenac are being asked by the newly-elected Progressive Conservative government to go to the polls to place Dr. Sidney Smith in the house of commons.

In anticipation of Mr. Smith's election to the commons, the Progressive Conservatives have already appointed him minister of Canada's external affairs. This by-election therefore takes on a much more vital character than any ordinary election.

The fate of the Tory government is not at stake. Something much more is involved. The electors of Hastings-Frontenac are being asked to put a minister of external affairs into office. The Tories are asking endorsement of their foreign policy. The whole foreign policy that Canada has adhered to since the end of the Second World War, shaped and administered by the Liberals, but with the complete support of the Tories, is on the ballot paper in the name of Sidney Smith. A fundamentally different policy is on the ballot in the name of Ross Dowson.

Which way? Is Canada, under the bi-partisan policy of the Liberals and Tories, going to continue to align itself with the "on the brink of war" policies of John Foster Dulles and the US State Department? Is it going to continue to prop up discredited dictators such as

Singhman Rhee and Chiang Kai Shek; to be allied with clerical fascists and slave owning feudal princes; to front for decaying imperialist powers attempting to drown in blood the freedom struggles of their long oppressed slaves?

And is Canada going to undergo a new orgy of military expenditures, with higher taxes, more debt and surging inflation, which can only end in WAR—H-Bomb war—an intercontinental ballistic war—and the destruction of civilization as we know it?

Or is Canada going to take a new course? A course shaped by the interest of those who work on its lands, in its mills, its mines and its offices, and not by the small handful of industrialists and financiers who see the security of their holdings, both here and abroad, inextricably tied to the interests of Wall Street and its other

For Peace and Freedom

● Stop the H-Bomb Tests

No more maneuvers, stalls such as Canada participated in at the London Conference. Cease the pollution of the earth's atmosphere, stop endangering the lives of the peoples of the world at once. Bar shipment of Ontario uranium being used for military purposes. Develop and produce atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Nationalize the war industries, place them under workers' control.

● Break from the NATO War Pact

No US troops on Canadian soil; withdraw Canadian troops from other lands. Break Canada's alliance with reaction and oppression everywhere. Align the Canadian people with the great liberating struggles that are unfolding across the globe.

● Cut the Military Expenditures

Divert the millions now being wasted, to the financing of a national health plan, to a program of subsidized low rental housing, farm loans at cost, parity prices, and other social needs of the Canadian people.

● Trade and Aid to Underdeveloped Lands

Recognize the People's Republic of China. Stop blocking her admission to the UN. Distribute our surpluses to the needy peoples of the world.

● For a Referendum on War or Peace

An end to agreements and deals that commit Canada to "police actions" and wars without consultation of the people. Take the war-making power out of the hands of parliament. Let the people vote.

junior partners. Is Canada going to identify itself with the mighty movement of protest that has swept across Europe and Asia against the poisonous H Bomb tests? Is it going to adopt a foreign policy that solidarizes it with the freedom struggles, the right to self-determination of the colonial peoples; a policy of trade and aid with the great wealth our skills and ingenuity have unlocked from the vast resources of this continent?

And is Canada going to move forward to a new social order, one free of social conflicts, of wars and depressions, to an era of peace and plenty?

The electors of Hastings-Frontenac have been a grave responsibility and at the same time a great opportunity. The bi-partisan, the Liberal-Tory foreign policy is now in a crisis of the first magnitude. The eyes of Canada are on Hastings-Frontenac.

DOWSON or SMITH

In sharp contrast to Conservative candidate Sidney Smith, associate of tycoons and millionaires, Ross Dowson is a worker who has for 23 years dedicated himself to the cause of working class emancipation—a servant of the people in the truest sense of the word.

It was during the thirties that Dowson first became active in the Toronto labor and socialist movement when he participated in the unemployed youth movement. There any dreams he might have shared with youth everywhere of a life free from inequality, unemployment, and war, were shattered. His own experiences demonstrated to him that these could only be achieved with the estab-

See DOWSON—page 2

Tory government spokesmen are trying to build up Sidney Smith, their new external affairs minister, as a great public servant and educationalist, a man above partisan politics. His record shows just the opposite.

Dr. Smith has had long connections with the Conservative party. In 1942 he was all set to take the Tory leadership, until John Bracken, then premier of Manitoba, announced his candidature a few minutes before the convention.

At the time of his assuming the presidency of the University of Toronto, it is a commonly held view that George Drew arranged the appointment to avoid a challenge by Smith for the Tory lead-

See SMITH—page 2

The Foreign Policy Crisis

The launching by the USSR of an earth satellite, an awesome scientific achievement and a colossal stride forward in man's understanding of the world and the universe, has brought on a panic in the top circles of the US State Department, the British cabinet, Canadian ruling circles, and the governments of all countries in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The cause of the panic? It is now clear that the USSR possesses an intercontinental ballistic missile capable of carrying an atomic warhead tremendous distances with accuracy. Since 1945 when Truman ushered

in the atomic age by slaughtering 200,000 Japanese civilians, with applause from the Liberals and Tories, US imperialism has been brandishing its military superiority all over the globe. The US state department and its camp followers' aim is to uphold the capitalist enslavement of Asia, Africa, and South America, and the restoration of capitalist profit and exploitation in the Soviet orbit and in New China.

The entire foreign and domestic policy of Canada, in tune with that

See \$12 BILLION WASTED—p. 2

THE TRUTH ABOUT SEL's ATTITUDE TOWARDS CCF

According to Ontario Provincial Secretary Bryden the Socialist Educational League is out "to disrupt" the CCF "by sowing confusion and dissension from within," it is out "to destroy" the CCF. As evidence of this charge he gives his version of the circumstances surrounding the expulsion of 15 leading active CCFers from the Ontario section two years ago. Some of the 15 later helped form the SEL. That there is not the slightest truth in the charge Bryden makes today is evident from the statement the Ontario provincial council itself made at the time of the expulsions. It admitted that "representatives of the ridings in which the accused were members gave evidence that the accused had been useful members of their riding associations and had not shown any overt disruptive tendencies."

While there were a host of

charges and slanders, the simple truth is that the 15 were expelled, in violation of the constitution of the movement, for the views that they held—views that placed them into opposition to Bryden and the top CCF leadership who have been steadily undermining the class character of the movement and who shortly after these expulsions, and actions of a similar type in BC, succeeded in imposing the Winnipeg Declaration on the party in place of the Regina Manifesto.

The disruption, confusion and dissension in the CCF comes not from the SELers but from Bryden and company. They use their positions to bar socialists from membership at the same time as they hold the door wide open for opportunists and every renegade from the boss parties. They expell their socialist opponents in the movement in an orgy of lies and slanders (at the time of the witch-hunt against the 15, Dowson was alleged to receive gold from France, today it is from the US). They now resort to the simple device of refusing to renew the membership of persons they consider to be opponents of their views—in this way doing away with the need to place formal charges, hold hearings, etc.

The right wing leadership of the CCF has attempted to establish the charge of "Trotskyism" as automatic grounds for expulsion. They, of course, use the term not to define in a scientific way a legitimate tendency in the working class movement which should be free to contend with other views, but as a term of abuse and slander in the same way McCarthyites use the term "communist."

Coldwell in *Some Reminiscences* in the CCF 25th anniversary souvenir states that at the founding convention in Regina 1933 "we had a small group from Toronto who were in reality Trotskyites." In a report to the 1955 convention the

BC executive blamed Trotskyism in the movement for the failure of that section to win office in the 1952 election. Their fight against Trotskyism is a continuous operation, from the party's beginning right up to Hastings-Frontenac, demonstrating that it is not at all as they would suggest; some alien, foreign, outside influence working its way into the CCF. It is the name of the opposition that has continued to well-up in the movement at every turning point in its development—Trotskyism is the name they have given their socialist opposition.

The SEL is in opposition, socialist opposition to the CCF leadership. That is not at all the same thing as to be in opposition to the CCF as a movement. In their attempts to make it appear so, the CCF leadership only show that they have the traits of all bureaucracies. The SEL supports the CCF critically from its socialist viewpoint. Its support is not determined on conjunctural grounds, such as who is in the leadership, or on this or that policy that the leadership happen to be advancing at the given moment in the name of the movement.

The SEL doesn't have any hidden, any "real philosophy" that it "plays down" as Bryden alleges. It doesn't carry the slogan proclaiming its support to the CCF in an attempt to appear to be something that it is not, but to identify itself with the principle of independent labor political action and the concept of a workers' and farmers' government. The SEL has not just fastened onto these ideas but fights for them as it has demonstrated many times. Insofar as the CCF in Canadian political life continues to represent these concepts the SEL will continue to support the CCF.

#25-Dec. 1957

\$1,750 Vanguard Goal Goes Well Over the Top

Hidden persuaders? No!

High pressure gimmicks? No!

But still the Workers Vanguard drive to raise \$1,750 for its Press and Publication Fund has been a roaring success. As we go to press it is assured that we have reached our target and have gone over the top by \$52.69. Unlike other public financial drives such as the United Appeals we do not feel it necessary to extend our campaign. We want to clear the campaign away and get on with the work of utilizing our press to the full.

In the knowledge that the campaign's success was assured, Toronto friends and supporters held a bang-up social and dance on Nov. 23rd at the Co-op Hall to celebrate two years of the Vanguard.

We have cash on hand totalling \$1,404.69. To raise it up to and over our objective we have guaranteed gilt-edged pledges from members of the Socialist Educational League and friends totalling \$398. This money, we are assured, will be in the bag within the next couple of weeks. Here is the breakdown;

BC	\$ 34.50
Vancouver	154.50
The Prairies	163.79
Toronto and Ont.	1,051.90
Guaranteed pledges	398.00
	<hr/>
	\$1,802.69

Everyone connected with the paper, with the writing of it, the

layout, the mailing, all the varied processes of putting it out and circulating it, is jubilant. We feel that this is a real endorsement of all our efforts over the past two years. We appreciate the sacrifice and generosity of our friends throughout the country, some of whose only contact with us is the paper, of all those who sent us letters of encouragement and criticism containing the means to make the campaign a success.

While the capitalist press hasn't any difficulty at all in continuing operations, we of the workers' press depend on our sympathizers to dig deep, to cut down on their pleasures and even necessities, to contribute their scarce and hard-earned dollars to our efforts. So it was with considerable apprehension, in the light of the increasing unemployment and the foreboding atmosphere prevailing at this time, that we launched this year's drive. For this was the highest objective we have so far set ourselves.

But we needed the funds to take advantage of the new opportunities opening up for us and you came through. Again we thank our friends for their generosity. This success inspires us to greater achievements and higher goals. It clears the way to the not-too-distant time when we will be able to commence publication on a twice monthly basis.

Clip this coupon and mail it today to

THE WORKERS' VANGUARD

569 YONGE STREET

TORONTO 5, ONT.

50¢ for 12 issues, \$1.00 buys your sub and one for a friend.

Name

Address

ON THE LINE AT LEVER'S

"See that line?"

I looked. The line was there alright -- straight down the middle of the sidewalk. As I glanced up, I caught the eye of a sullen cop. He was on the other side of the line, propping himself against Lever Brothers building.

"What's it for?", I asked.

The two picketers laughed. "The foreman drew it. The other side is company property."

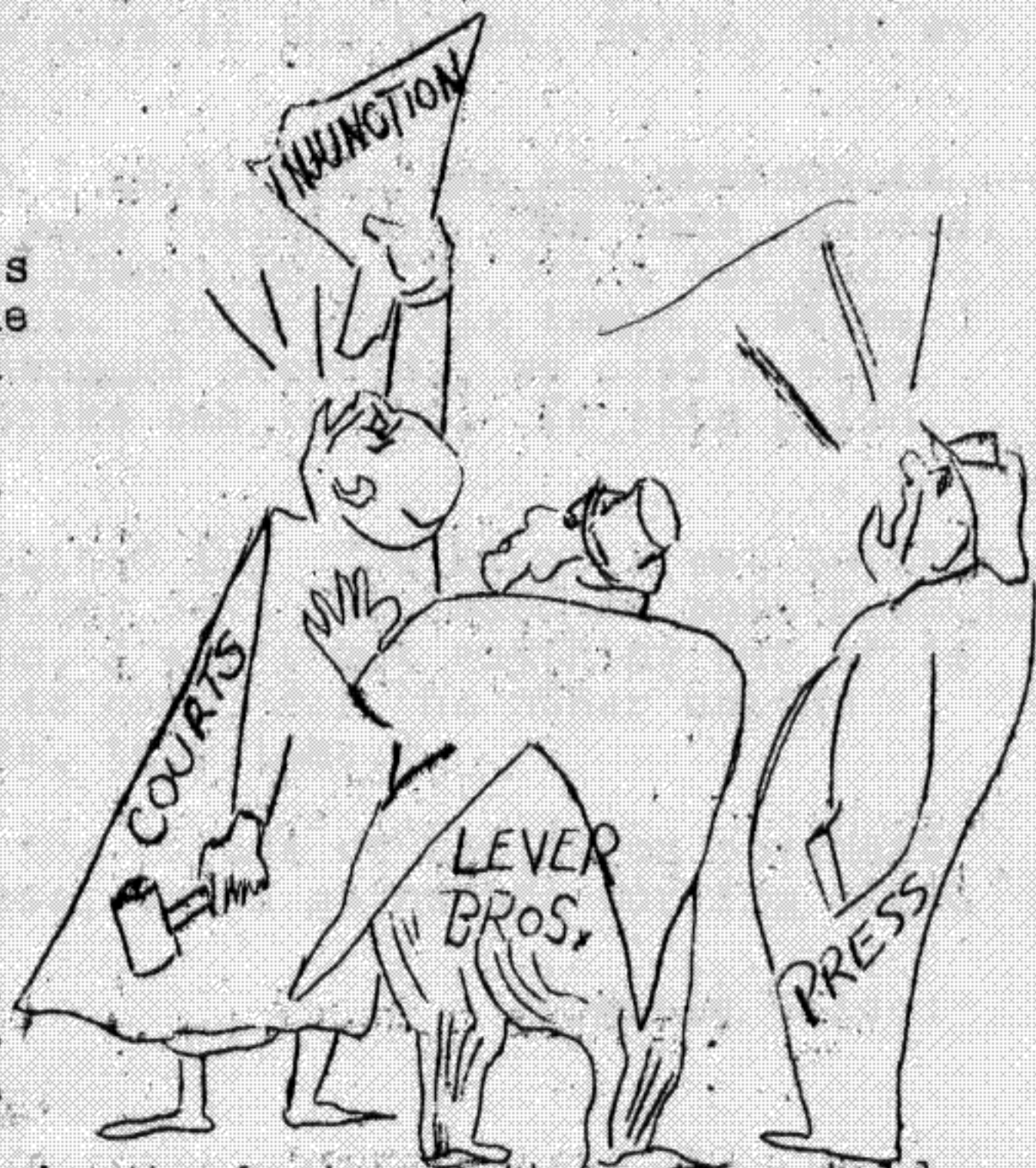
We all laughed as the cop blinked. It wasn't so serious on Saturday. No scabs were being brought in.

The striker continued, "You should have been here yesterday morning between 7 o'clock and quarter to 8. There must have been twenty cops. Cruisers and motorcycles all over the place! Metro Cab and Diamond Taxi were driving scabs in. You can't do much against opposition like that with only two men on a gate. I guess you heard that a Judge has ruled that we can't have more than two pickets at each door."

I nodded. "Do many scabs go in?"

"The Employment Service keeps sending them down every day. Some of them can't even speak English and don't know about the strike here. Most of them turn back when we talk to them. The odd guy goes through. It doesn't matter about his nationality--many of them are Canadians. It's getting tougher though. Last week the cops threw one of our guys into a cruiser just for talking to the scabs."

What the pickets say commenced as a strike for a wage increase of 15 per cent has developed into a struggle to preserve the union itself. Lever Bros., of course, has tried every trick in the book. Both workers told me they had a pile of telegrams and letters at home warning them to get back to work while jobs are still available. Squads of police, intimidation, injunctions granted by more-than-willing courts, are being used in an attempt to break this nine-week old strike.



One of the pickets pointed up at the building. "They're probably taking your picture now. They're always spying on us and trying to find out who 'causes trouble.' They have cameras on the roof and in the windows up there."

(over)

All the odds seem to be against this strike and yet the picketer went on enthusiastically. "Don't worry though, our morale is high. The guys just want to strike back. Last week we had a vote and 93 per cent were in favor of continuing the strike... They're trying to break our spirit with this injunction. Did you know that they are forcing us to move our picket house?"

He pointed to a small trailer set up beside the plant on the banks of the Don River. In it relief pickets were sitting around talking and drinking coffee.

His friend out in the area said strikers can't even come within two blocks of the plant.

If anything is to break the spirit of these strikers, it's this injunction, limiting the picket line to two men per entrance and not allowing any effective kind of picketing.

Previously I had spoken to a local executive member. He saw no prospect of anything being done about this injunction. And now I asked the two men. "What do you think you can do about this injunction?"

There was no hesitation. "The union should go to town and do something about it---a few guys in the klink, maybe, but we have to do something."

With these words in mind I went on to the two workers at the other end of the plant. The same questions. The same answers. The same high morale. As to the injunction: "We can't sit and do nothing. It's crippling the strike. It's the big issue. We need help. The other unions have to send us pickets. We need a mass picket. It's the only way the strike can be won. If this union falls others will fall."

The striker beside him joined in, "You know, I was talking to a fellow from the office the other day. He asked me what I would gain from this strike. I told him, I won't get anything out of it myself. We're working for those to come, for the other unions which strike after us. If we lose, they lose."

I left, feeling that if the future of the union movement were in the hands of men like these, union gains and working class strength would continue to grow.

Virginia Wilson